

# Sixteen Studies on Armenian and Other Topics by H. Kurdian

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H. Kurdian, an American author and philologist, published these short but valuable articles in a variety of journals between the years 1934 and 1975.

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[The Date of the Oriental Geography of Ibn Haukal](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (Mar., 1934), pp. 84-85.

[A Note on the "Description of the Holy Land and of the Way Thither" by Ludolph Von Suchem \(1350\)](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (Mar., 1935), pp. 102-104.

[The Builders of the Fātih Mosque: Christodulos or Sinān?](#) from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 1 (Jan., 1937), pp. 109-113.

[A Correction to "Mirabilia Descripta" \(The Wonders of the East\), by Friar Jordanus, circa 1330](#), from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 3 (Jul., 1937), pp. 480-481.

[A Few Corrections in the English Translation and Transliteration of the Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj \(Bar Hebraeus\)](#), from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 3 (Jul., 1938), p. 431.

[A Few Corrections on Guy Le Strange's "Clavijo, Embassy to Tamerlane \(1403-1406\)"](#), from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 4 (Oct., 1938), pp. 555-560.

[An Important Armenian MS. From A.D. 1330](#), from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 4 (Oct., 1939), pp. 604-606.

[Corrections to Arthur Upham Pope's "The Myth of the Armenian Dragon Carpets"](#), from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 1 (Jan., 1940), pp. 65-67.

[An Armenian MS. with Unique Mongolian Miniatures](#), from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 2 (Apr., 1941), pp. 145-148.

[Kirmiz](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (Jun., 1941), pp. 105-107.

[An Important Armenian MS. with Greek Miniatures](#), from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 3 (Oct., 1942), pp. 155-162.

[An Armenian Miniature of the 14th Century](#), from *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (June, 1943), pp. 109-112.

[An Armenian Silver Binding Dated 1653](#), from *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (April, 1946), pp. 118-119.

[The Newly Discovered Alphabet of the Caucasian Albanians](#), from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 1/2 (Apr., 1956), pp. 81-83.

[Assizes of Antioch](#), from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 3/4 (Oct., 1962), pp. 134-137.

[A Note on Persian Blue and White Wares with Armenian Monograms in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London](#), from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 1 (1975), pp. 54-56.

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The Date of the Oriental Geography of Ibn Haukal

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*The Date of the Oriental Geography of Ibn Haukal*

Sir William Ouseley, in his translated edition of *Ebn Haukal's Oriental Geography* (London: Oriental Press, Wilson & Company, 1800) makes in the preface an attempt to establish the date of this work.

To quote from Sir William Ouseley's Preface, "Although the exact epoch of his birth and death is still unknown to me, I have not hesitated to announce Ebn Haukal as an author of the tenth century. That he wrote before the building of Cairo, we learn from his account of Egypt in the following work, page 30; and after the accession of Abdarrahman, who, in his time, governed Andalus, or Spain, appears from p. 28. The foundation of modern Cairo was laid in the year 968 of the Christian Aera, and Abdarrahman assumed the government of Spain in the year 902 of the same Aera, or of the Hegira 290. Thus we may ascertain that Ebn Haukal flourished before 968, and after the year 902; and we cannot err considerably if we place him in the middle, or, perhaps in the beginning, of the tenth century" (p. 11).

However, according to the information furnished by Ibn Haukal himself, in the book under discussion, I can ascertain that the author wrote his Oriental Geography earlier than 902, and not "after the year 902" as Sir William Ouseley asserts.

In speaking of Deinel (Armenia), Ibn Haukal states: "This place has heretofore been in the hands of Shenbat ben Ashout" (p. 161). And again speaking of "the road between Berdaa and Deinel", he says that "all this space belongs to Senbat ben Ashout" (p. 164).

The first of these statements may reasonably refer to the past, but the second deals clearly with the period in which the author writes.

Ibn Haukal's Shenbat or Senbat ben Ashout is known in Armenian history as Ashod Pakradouni Smpadian. He was born about 820. His father was Smpad (Shenbat or Senbat of Ebn Haukal) Khosdovanogh (The Confessor), from the House of Pakradounis. Ashod has a splendid reputation in Armenian history. Native as well as foreign historians praise him highly. He became the General in Command (Sharabed) of Armenia in 856 A. D. In 861 he was made Prince of Princes. In 885 he became

King of Armenia and is known as Ashod I. He died February 2, 891.

From the remarks of Ibn Haukal, then, it would seem that Ashod Sempadian was still alive while the former was writing his *Oriental Geography* (p. 164), and Ashod could not have been dead very long when Ibn Haukal was writing about Deinel.

Considering the above facts we may conclude that Ibn Haukal's *Oriental Geography* was written before 891, and not "after the year 902".

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*Chinese Mythology: A Reply*

In the March 1933 number of this JOURNAL there is an article by Messrs. Fêng and Shryock on "Chinese Mythology." These two writers could have saved themselves the trouble of preparing their article if they had written me asking for the "Errata et Corrigenda" of my book, since most of their criticisms are based upon textual errors which arose through transcription and proof reading. Fortunately most of these errors were so apparent that they should not have been misleading.

There are some criticisms in the article which are not well-founded. I did not say, p. 14, that T'ai Tsung *first* claimed descent from Lao-tzû. Nor did I follow Werner, p. 59, in my account of Yü Huang, for I wrote my book before Werner's appeared; but even of I had followed him I should not have erred, for we were both correct in our statements which were based upon the *T'ung chien kang mu*. It is a perversion of my text to say that on p. 137 I was not sure whether the transmutation system and the Book of Changes were two things or one. Nor can I seriously deal with such an unfounded misconception as that "a large part of the work does not deal with mythology at all," in support of which erroneous statement the authors attempt to add ridicule to criticism in their closing paragraphs, even dragging in the Book of Common Prayer.

As to my summary of the work of K'ung An-kuo on pp. 10 and 11, it was condensed from the Introduction to the standard edition of Lun Yü (論語集解序). In this Introduction the Lu text is



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A Note on the "Description of the Holy Land and of the Way Thither" by Ludolph Von Suchem (1350)

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After this consideration of the Babylonian origin of the Ras Shamra alphabet it is surely pertinent to inquire whether the Phoenician alphabet might not have developed out of the Ras Shamra script. Even a superficial comparison between the Ras Shamra characters and those of the Phoenician alphabet reveals certain striking similarities between the two scripts. Some of the differences between the two alphabets might be explained by the change of wedges into straight lines and the ultimate direction of the writing from right to left instead of from left to right.<sup>2</sup>

I submit, therefore, that the Phoenician alphabet and all alphabets derived from it go back to the cuneiform script rather than to the Sinaitic alphabet. Concerning the latter view, which is held by Professors Olmstead and Sprengling, Dr. Flight has this to say: "Their argument on the point in question is based for the most part, however, upon the similarity of form between corresponding characters in the two alphabets. So far as this argument is concerned one can see as much evidence for the derivation of certain Ras Shamra characters from the Canaanite-Phoenician as from the Seirite-Sinaitic."<sup>3</sup>

TRUDE WEISS ROSMARIN.

New York.

*A Note on the "Description of the Holy Land and of the Way Thither" by Ludolph Von Suchem (1350)*

Aubrey Stewart, in his preface to Ludolph Von Suchem's *Description of the Holy Land*, which he translated for the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society in 1896 (London), comes to the conclusion that the original was written in 1350; this date is printed on the front page of this book just below the title. I find, however, that there is some doubt about the accuracy of the date in question.

In Ch. XXXII, entitled "Ancient Babylon, or Baldach" we read: "I will tell you somewhat about the loss of this city of Baldach, according as I have read thereof in the chronicles<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>2</sup> [A number of detailed arguments had to be left out for lack of space.  
E. A. S.]

<sup>3</sup> F. W. Flight, "Semitic Alphabet Origins," *Macdonald Presentation Volume*, 1933, p. 190.

<sup>1</sup> According to Stewart, the reference is probably to *Haithoni Armeni*

histories of the kings of Armenia, and have heard from a right truthful knight who was there at the time. In the year of our Lord 1268, when the Tartars had conquered all the kingdoms of the East, Ayco, the then King of Armenia, of his own accord proceeded to the great Khan, the Emperor of the Tartars, to visit him. Ayco was kindly received by him, because so great and singular an honour had been shown him, that kings should of their own accord visit him and come to meet him, whereat he was much pleased and honoured the king with many presents. In process of time, when the King of Armenia was about to return home, he asked the Emperor to grant him five boons" (pp. 73, 74).

This statement contains three serious errors.

1. The Armenian King Ayco, mentioned by von Suchem, was the King of Lesser Armenia, Haitum I (1226-1270), while the Tartar Khan in question was Manku Khan (1256-1259). Haitum I left for the court of Manku on Feb. 4, 1254 and returned on June 5, 1256; the year 1268, in which the trip is placed by von Suchem, cannot represent the correct date.

2. The Baldach of von Suchem is Baghdad, which was taken by the Tartars, aided by the forces of the Armenians and the treachery of its own commander, on February 5, 1258. The Mohammedans were ruthlessly butchered, but the Christians were not molested because of the intercession of the Armenians and other Christians then in the army and at the court of the Tartars.

3. Von Suchem states that "about the loss of this city of Baldach" he has "heard from a right truthful knight who was there at the time." From that statement we are to infer that this truthful knight was actually present on the battlefield at the fall and capture of Baghdad by the Tartars in the year 1258. Now if von Suchem wrote his *Description of the Holy Land* in 1350, 92 years must have elapsed by then since the fall and capture of Baghdad. And if he heard this story on his first visit to the Orient (about 1336) his informant must have been at least 100

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*Historia Orientalis*, in Vol. II of Vincent of Beauvais's *Fragmenta*. This Armenian chronicler is really Haitum, prince of Gorigos, whose work is entitled *Liber Historiarum Partium Orientis*. In a French MS now in the Bibl. Nat. of Paris (No. 12201), entitled *Merveilles du Monde*, is included an excellent copy of the Haitum Chronicles, mentioned above, together with forty-three splendid illustrations.

years old, or he could not have taken part in a battle fought in 1258.

It follows that we should place the date of von Suchem's book and the year of the author's first visit to the Holy Land at a much earlier time. If it should be found that no change in either date is justified, then we cannot but conclude that the truthful knight was not so truthful and von Suchem was a very gullible tourist. Or did he make up the story to give his work a more authoritative aspect?

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The Builders of the Fātih Mosque: Christodulos or Sinān?

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## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

### THE BUILDERS OF THE FĀTIH MOSQUE: CHRISTODULOS OR SINĀN?

In a recent article Mr. Nicholas N. Martinovitch,<sup>1</sup> attempts to prove that the old Fātih mosque at Constantinople was built by a Greek architect, Christodulos by name.

The Fātih mosque was built for the first time in A.H. 867–875 (A.D. 1462–3—1470–1). Mr. Martinovitch states that “According to a tradition it was believed that a Greek, Christodulos by name, was the builder of the old Fātih mosque at Constantinople”.<sup>2</sup> However, no contemporary Turkish or foreign historians mention this tradition. In fact, the legend of Christodulos exists only in the testimony of Demetrius Cantemir, Prince of Moldavia, who says, speaking of “a jami built by Mahomet Fatih” (the Fātih mosque): “The architect was, they say, a Greek Christian named Christodulus.”<sup>3</sup> To satisfy any doubt that might arise from this “THEY SAY” Demetrius Cantemir adds below: “However, that the Muhamediè is the work of Christodulus, and that he receiv’d in recompence the street before mentioned, I am induc’d to believe from the writing given by Mahomet to Christodulus on this occasion, which I my self read, and afterwards lodged in the Treasury of the Church of the blessed Virgin Mary at Muglotissa.” I have no reason to refuse to accept the story of Christodulus, so far, other than the doubt which already exists, that Cantemir could not read Old Arabic, and my own suspicion that such a document never existed.

Demetrius Cantemir, speaking of Selim’s temple in Constantinople says: “The architect was a Greek of Constantinople, who besides this built another and more

<sup>1</sup> “Two Questions in Moslem Art,” *JRAS.*, April, 1935, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire*, London, 1734, p. 109, Annotation No. 31.

stately temple at Adrianople.”<sup>1</sup> Cantemir does not mention the name of this architect but in another place in the same book gives this additional information: “A certain Greek architect, who had built for Selim at Adrianople, a large and elegant temple. He was NEPHEW of another architect, whom Sultan Mahomet II intrusted with the care of a jami which he built at Constantinople.”<sup>2</sup> After condensing these three statements of Cantemir we seem to reach the following conclusions:—

(1) The Fâtih mosque was built by a Greek architect named Christodulus.

(2) A NEPHEW of Christodulus, unnamed, was the architect of Selim’s temple in Constantinople.

(3) The same NEPHEW of Christodulus, the architect of Selim’s temple in Constantinople, was also the builder of Selim’s mosque in Adrianople.

But this is where Cantemir becomes wholly disqualified as a trustworthy source of information as to the architect builders of the above-mentioned mosques. For it is known beyond any doubt that the builder of Selim’s temple in Constantinople and Selim’s mosque in Adrianople was one, the chief court architect, known as MÎ'MÂR BÂSHI KODJA SINÂN, to whom Evliya Chelebi refers as “Abdal Sinân”.

Mî'mâr Sinân’s nationality has remained another dark puzzle in the history of Ottoman architecture. Edwin A. Grosvenor wants to believe that “Sinan, in his ancestry was an Ottoman of the Ottomans”.<sup>3</sup> Others have indicated that he was an Albanian,<sup>4</sup> some that he was a Turk, Greek, or Austrian, and even that he was a Magyar. Dr. Tadäus Mankowski believed that he was an Armenian. But now there is no more need to speculate because a newly found Turkish document definitely establishes Mî'mâr Sinân’s nationality.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 182, Annotation No. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 105, Annotation No. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Constantinople*, Boston, 1895, vol. ii, p. 654.

<sup>4</sup> Gaston Migeon, *Les Arts Musulmans*, 1926, p. 20.

A Turk author, Ahmed Refik, published the papers of the Imperial archives of Constantinople in the *Turk Tarikhū Engiumeni Megemuassi*, a periodical, in the issues June, 1930, to May, 1931. And in No. 5, page 10, he published a document dated A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573), Ramazan 7, which read as follows :—

“ To the justice, Hiussein tchawush, of Ak-Dagh. High Command.

“ The present head of the Imperial architects, hearing that by Imperial decree we have ordered the deportation of our subjects of Kayseri, has petitioned us by letter that the population living in the village of Aghernass (Agroenoss), his birthplace, and his relatives, Sari Oghlou, living at the village of Kutchi Beoriunggez, and his relatives Ulissa and Kod Nishan, from the village of Urgub, who are our subjects, should be exempt from deportation to Cyprus. And accordingly I grant exemption to the population of the above-named village, the birthplace of the above-named petitioner, and also grant exemption from deportation to the above-mentioned of his relatives, and I accordingly command that upon receiving my order even if the records in the books already call for the deportation of the old inhabitants of the above-mentioned village, and his other relatives, that the names be erased and they should not be molested, under the pretence that they are of those who were to be deported ; and it is willed that this high command should be registered in the record book, and the original turned over to them.

“ Given to master Mehmed. 7 Ramazan A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573).”

The above-mentioned head of the Imperial architects, in the year 1573, and so during the reign of Sultan Selim II, was no one but Mi'mār Sinān. The document states that he was a native of Aghernass, a village about Kayseri, in Asia Minor. That he also had relatives in the villages of Kutchi Beoriunggez and Urgub, near Kayseri. The document gives

the names of some of his (Sinān's) relatives, one Sari Oghlu, one Kod Nishan, and a woman named Ulissa. NISHAN and ULISSA are purely ARMENIAN NAMES, used ONLY by Armenians, and they are quite popular even in our times. So naturally, Mī'mār Sinān, having Armenian relatives in the villages of Kayseri (Cæsarea Cappadocia or Mazaca), could not be of any other nationality but Armenian.

Thus, Mī'mār Sinān being an Armenian, it follows that the architect of the temple of Selim in Constantinople and Selim's mosque in Adrianople was an Armenian. Accordingly, when Cantemir informs us that the architect, ". . . . who had built for Selim at Adrianople, a large and elegant temple. He was NEPHEW of another architect, whom Sultan Mahomet II intrusted with the care of a jami which he built at Constantinople," it is clear that the jami mentioned here is none other than the Fātih mosque. And therefore the uncle of the Armenian architect, Mī'mār Sinān, was another Armenian, and not a Greek with the name Christodulos.

And what was the name of this *uncle*? The answer is given to us by Dr. Aga-Oglu, "who happened to find in a Turkish chronicle a passage in which the architect of our mosque (the Fātih mosque) is named Sinān. Moreover, he discovered that Sinān's full name was Sinān ad-Dīn Yusuff ban(son) 'Abdallah and that his nickname was *al-'atiq*".<sup>1</sup>

We agree that *al-'atiq* means "a freed, emancipated slave", which also "gives us the idea of Sinān's Christian origin".<sup>2</sup> But I do not agree that "ban (son) of Abdallah" is purely decorative, for "son of Abdallah" is a signature used by Armenian architects and tile decorators of Seljuq mosques and medresses of Asia Minor. We also agree that "Sinān ad-Dīn Yusuff" cannot be abbreviated to Sinān, but I cannot see how Sinān ad-Dīn Yusuff mentioned in the chronicle quoted by Dr. Aga-Oglu could be confused with some other

<sup>1</sup> "Two Questions in Moslem Art," by Nicholas N. Martinovitch, *JRAS.*, April, 1935, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287.

Sinān, or especially with *Mī'mār bāshi Kodja Sinān*, who was born 9 Redjeb A.H. 895 (A.D. 1490, May) and died 12 Djemal-ul-evel A.H. 996 (A.D. 1588, June 3), thus living 98 years. The Fātih mosque built, A.D. 1462–1471, must have been built by another Sinān (Sinān ad-Din Yusuff), and so the confusion is now resolved.

Thus in conclusion we may say that the legend of Christodulos is a mere legend. That there were two Sināns, one in the fifteenth and the other in the sixteenth century. That they were NEPHEW and UNCLE, and in their respective times they served various Sultans, building for them among other edifices the Fātih mosque, the temple of Selim in Constantinople, and the Selim's mosque in Adrianople. That their nationality as Armenians, from the district around Kayseri, is established beyond doubt by the Ottoman Imperial document here quoted.

H. KURDIAN.

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NOTE ON HITTITE PHILOLOGY

*wappu*

In the unpublished text Bo. 2535, which Professor Ehelolf has kindly allowed me to copy, occur the following words :—

Obv. 6. *nu ku-wa-pi wa-ap-pu-w[a-az LÚ]-MEŠDUG.QA.*  
*BUR IM·ma da-aš-kán-zi*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The correct reading and interpretation of this line is due to Professor Ehelolf, to whom I am also indebted for most of the references here used. The frequency of the phrase *wappuwaš IM* (see below) suggests that we have here not the Hittite word *imma*, which yields no satisfactory sense, nor yet IM with adversative *-ma*, which is not only meaningless but also an impossible position for the particle, but the nom.-acc. of an r/n stem from which the final *-r* has been dropped; cf. Götze-Pedersen, *Mursilis Sprachlähmung*, pp. 30–1. To this stem belongs very probably the instr. IM·ni·it, Bo. 2357 i 7 ff.: *na-at* IM·ni·it *iš-ta-ap-ab-hi* (verb restored from a similar passage in Bo. 5810 iii 11 ff.); and the dat./loc. IM·ni (Bo. 2357 i 5, Bo. 5810 iv 11). However, an a- stem nom. IM·aš is also attested, e.g. xv 39 ii 15, and acc. IM·an vii 55 ii 3, xii 58 i 9, 19. Cf. *hunhuessar* and *hunhuesa-*, Ehelolf, Kl.F., i, 395 ff.



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A Correction to "Mirabilia Descripta" (The Wonders of the East). By Friar Jordanus,  
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A CORRECTION TO "MIRABILIA DESCRIPTA" (THE WONDERS OF THE EAST). By FRIAR JORDANUS, *circa* 1330<sup>1</sup>

In speaking of Armenia, Friar Jordanus says: "In this same Armenia the Greater a certain glorious Virgin suffered martyrdom. The daughter of a King and Scala by name." (p. 5.)

Colonel Sir Henry Yule in his notes in this book wrote: "The Virgin must be Rhipsime . . . etc." (p. 5.)

Sir Henry Yule was mistaken in his identification of the "Glorious Virgin Scala by name" mentioned by Friar Jordanus as having suffered martyrdom, for she was not Virgin Rhipsime, but a Virgin named Santukht, the daughter of the Armenian King Sanadrug. She was converted to Christianity by Judas-Thaddeus the Apostle, who, after the death of Christ, was sent to preach Christianity to the Armenians.

The Martyrdom of Santukht, as well as the historical reality of the Armenian King Sanadrug, is enveloped in so much darkness and the narrations about them are so old that they have almost become legendary. Although Sanadrug has no place in *de facto* Armenian History, nevertheless he has quite an important place in the history of the Christian Religion in Armenia. Incidentally, Santukht was not only the first female martyr in Armenia, but the first in the whole of Christendom, being killed by the order of her father Sanadrug, the King of Armenia, about the middle of the first century.

The Virgin Rhipsime, or, as the Armenians spell it, Hripsime, mentioned by Sir Henry Yule, was not the daughter of a king, as Friar Jordanus tells us the Glorious Virgin Scala's father was. Hripsime was martyred in Armenia in the third century.

The name of the martyred Virgin is given by Friar Jordanus as Scala, which in Latin as well as Italian means *scale*, and for which Webster's *Unabridged Dictionary* gives *scale* (*scala*) "A ladder; series of steps". In Armenian, scale is translated *santukh* (a ladder), which makes it seem that

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Hakluyt Society, Old or First Series, No. 31, 1863.

whoever told Friar Jordanus the story of this Armenian Virgin's martyrdom also gave the name *Santukht*, but to make it more easily remembered by Friar Jordanus, he tried to translate the name and called it *scala* (= scale = *santukh* = ladder), the original *Santukht* being a personal name, much used among Armenians to this day, and the second a word, *santukh*, which in Latin is *scala* and in English *scale*, a ladder.

The fact that these two words are so nearly alike, makes it easy for a person unfamiliar with the Armenian language to get them confused, even though they have no connection.

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H. KURDIAN.

### AN UNKNOWN WORK ON ZOOLOGY

Lieut.-Col. J. Stephenson, in the introduction of his very useful edition of the zoological section of Ḥamḍullāh Mustaufī's *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*,<sup>1</sup> states that "Arabic works on natural history were few, and Persian works non-existent, before the time of Mustaufī. There appears to be no systematic zoological treatise before the *Nuzhat* except the *Kitābu-l-Hayawān* of Jāḥiẓ (d. A.H. 255, A.D. 869) which, however (like that of ad-Damīrī later), is for the most part of philological and literary interest".<sup>2</sup> This statement is supported by the words of Dr. Max Meyerhof, "The only important Muslim work on Zoology is the *Life of Animals* by Muḥammad ad-Damīrī."<sup>3</sup> In view of these judgments, it is of interest to record that there exists in the India Office Library<sup>4</sup> a large fragment of what is evidently a scientific treatise on zoology written, most probably in Persia by a Persian, in the first half of the sixth

<sup>1</sup> Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, vol. xxx.

<sup>2</sup> pp. x-xi.

<sup>3</sup> *Legacy of Islam*, p. 341. Cf. A. S. G. Jayakar's remarks in his translation of *Hayāt al-Hayawān* (Bombay, 1906), vol. i, p. xiv.

<sup>4</sup> Delhi Arabic, 1949. Foll. 217; 31 × 18 cm. (script 22 × 13 cm.); ll. 12. Seals on the first and last folios attest that its present state of imperfection dates back at least two or three centuries.



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A Few Corrections in the English Translation and Transliteration of the Chronography  
of Gregory Abû'l Faraj (Bar Hebraeus)

Author(s): H. Kurdian

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A FEW CORRECTIONS IN THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION  
AND TRANSLITERATION OF THE CHRONOGRAPHY OF  
GREGORY ABŪ'L FARAJ (BAR HEBRAEUS)

Mr. H. Kurdian sends the following corrections of the late E. W. Budge's *Chronography of Barhebraeus* :—

i, 237 : “One Khōj (i.e. lord) Basil, that is to say thief, who held Khishum and Ra’ban.” The word *Khōj* is not, as Budge thought, the Persian *khwāja*, but the Armenian *զող kogh*, “thief.”

i, 371 : “Toros (Theodorus ?), the Armenian, the governor of Cilicia.” The suggestion in parentheses is unnecessary, since the person referred to is Toros I, prince of Cilicia, A.D. 1099–1129.

i, 371 : “Adhōrbījān and ’Arrān (Arzān ?).” Arran is a district in Caucasian or Eastern Greater Armenia, whence the suggestion in parentheses is erroneous.

i, 375 : “The year six hundred and sixty-eight of the Armenians.” This synchronizes with A.D. 1219. This is the only occasion on which B.H. uses the Armenian era in this work.

i, 505 : “righteous king Hitam (II ?) of Cilicia.” The name should be spelt Haitum, and the reference is to the second king of Cilicia of that name (A.D. 1289–1297). The query is therefore unnecessary.

i, 375 : “Whose name was Zabil (Isabel ?).” The name should be read Zabel ; the form Isabel is not used in Armenian.



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A Few Corrections on Guy Le Strange's "Clavijo, Embassy to Tamerlane (1403-1406)"

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## A Few Corrections on Guy Le Strange's "Clavijo, Embassy to Tamerlane (1403-1406)"

BY H. KURDIAN

IN the new edition of *Clavijo, Embassy to Tamerlane*, translated from the Spanish by Guy Le Strange (publ. Harper and Brothers, New York and London, 1928), I noticed several errors and offer the following in correction thereof.

(1) p. 116, etc. Zegan.—This is the existing village of Zigana on the mountain of the same name. In native Armenian or Turkish pronunciation it is *Zvānā*. See description in *Armenia and the Campaign of 1877*, by C. B. Norman (publ. by Cassell, Petter and Galpin, London, Paris, and New York, no date, pp. 21-2).

(2) p. 125, etc. *Taharten* the Lord of Arzinjan.—The name of this lord of Arzinjan in Clements R. Markham's translation of Clavijo (1859, London edition) is spelled *Zaratan*. Although the contemporary Armenian historian Tovmas Medzopetzi (fourteenth century) spelled it *Takhratan*, and also the author of the *History of Leng Timour*, Ahmed Arabshah of Damascus, spelled it *Tahartin*, Clements R. Markham's transliteration *Zaratan* seems to me to be nearer the original form of the name, which, according to Evliya Efendi (seventeenth century), is *ZAHIR-UD-DIN* (*Narrative of Evliya Efendi*, London, 1850, vol. iii, p. 202).

(3) p. 144. The Lord of Maku "was a Roman Catholic Armenian) but whose name was *Nur-ad-din*".—In his notes Guy Le Strange says, "Nur-ad-Din, the light of the (Moslem) religion, is a curious name for a christian but doubtless it had been imposed on this christian governor by Timur, as later he did in the case of the governor's son" (p. 352).

I differ with this opinion because I do not believe that Timur had anything to do with the naming of this Armenian prince or lord, Nur-ad-Din. Among the Armenian nobles of

that period, the use of Muslim names was very common. Such another was the Armenian Christian (but not Catholic) noble of Tiflis, who in the year of our Lord 1284 is mentioned by the name of Karim-ad-Din. He was the elder son of the illustrious Armenian Prince Umeg.<sup>1</sup>

We also find among Armenian princes of the thirteenth century such unchristian names as Hassan Chalal, Shahenshah, Assad, Djuma, Amir-Hassan, etc., all of them Armenian Christian nobles and princes. There are also a great number of Muslim female names applied to Armenian ladies of the same period.

(4) p. 329, etc. A certain Turkoman chief, *Qara Yusuf*.— Guy Le Strange in his notes says: “ In the text incorrectly given as *Qara Othman* (*Caraotoman*) ” (p. 363). However, Clavijo’s original *Qara Othman* is not incorrect, as G. Le Strange states, for at this time (beginning of fifteenth century) there were two Turkoman chieftains, one the *Qara Yusuf* of the *Qara Quyunlu* (Black Sheep) Clan, and the other *Qara Othman* (*Ossman*) of the *Aq Quyunlu* (White Sheep) Clan. To this last one Clavijo refers in his text, but G. Le Strange tries to correct it by *Qara Yusuf*, perhaps because he knew not of *Qara Othman*.

After the death of Timur (1405), *Qara Othman* and *Qara Yusuf* warred upon one another for years. *Qara Othman* was the lord of Amida (*Amid*, *Diarbekir*), who attacked Arzinjan several times, and in 1417 he retook and occupied it, holding it until 1435.

Clavijo states that *Qara Othman* was a “ vassal ” of Timur, but if we change the name to *Qara Yusuf*, as Guy Le Strange would have us do, we find that *Qara Yusuf* was never a vassal of Timur, but, on the contrary, an arch enemy of Timur, against whom he always fought, as did Sultan Ahmed Jalair. Both of these eventually had to flee the country to escape Timur. They were first sheltered by Sultan Bayazid of Turkey

<sup>1</sup> [A collection of such *laqabs* taken by or given to Christians was published in the *Mashriq* by Habib Zayab.]

(captured by Timur in the battle of Angora, 20th July, 1402), but eventually they were forced to flee to Egypt, where they evidently remained until the death of Timur in 1405. Qara Yusuf did not appear in Armenia until a year or so after Timur's death.

(5) p. 331, etc. Alashkert (a town in Armenia).—Le Strange in his notes states : “ The exact position of Alashkert remains to be identified ” (p. 363). But the position of Alashkert is easily identified. The city of Alashkert, through which Clavijo passed on his return journey (1st September, 1405), is marked on modern maps as Toprak Kala in the valley of Alashkert. In ancient Armenian history it was known as Vagharschakerd, being built by the Armenian King Vagharsch, in the second century. The town is fortified with walls and a castle, and stands at the foot of Sougav mountain in the province of Pakrevant of ancient Armenia. It is situated in a pleasant and well watered position, some 5,950 feet above sea-level, and was inhabited in 1914 by some 700 families, of which only 250 were Armenian.

(6) pp. 331–2. Clavijo narrates a story which he had heard in Alashkert. “ In this country of Great Armenia there had been formerly a famous and very powerful king, the lord of the whole land, who at the time of his death left three sons : and he had by his will divided Armenia among the three after this fashion. To his eldest son he had left this city of Alashkert with adjacent lands ; to his next son he had left Ani city, with its province, and to his third son Erzerum ; these cities aforesaid being the three capital towns of Armenia. The eldest son seeing that he possessed Alashkert, the strongest place in all the land, forthwith tried to dispossess his two brothers of their inheritance, and open war broke out between the three. The war being at its worst, each party now sought an ally to aid him against his rivals ; and the brother who was lord of Erzerum brought in that lawless Moslem folk, namely those Turkomans (already frequently mentioned). Then the lord of Ani for aid and to

do the like joined him of Erzerum and they two fell on their elder brother the lord of Alashkert, each with allies from among the Turkomans. Seeing and fearing these Turkomans the lord of Alashkert took counsel with himself and to do likewise for foreign aid called in that Moslem folk who were his neighbours, namely the Turks of the border. These Turks, however, had their language in common with the Turkomans already spoken of, who were the allies of the other two brothers, and they of one tongue making common cause, came to an understanding to take for themselves that city of Alashkert, putting its lord to death and leaving it in ruin. This done they slew both the other brothers, devastating their cities of Ani and Erzerum with the adjacent lands. Thus it was that the Moslems had come in and now held all Armenia ; for when they had conquered the cities they put to death most of the Christian Armenians who were the inhabitants, and their places had not since been occupied.”

About Clavijo’s story, Guy Le Strange says in his notes, “ Armenian Historians make no special mention of this king and his three sons, but presumably it was Leo V, the last of the Rubenian dynasty, of whom Clavijo tells the story. See *History of Armenia*, by N. Y. Gregor, p. 182 ” (p. 363).

Guy Le Strange’s assumption, as also the rest of his notes, requires corrections. Firstly, Leo V (1375) was not king of Greater Armenia, but of the Lesser Armenia (Cilicia). Secondly, he was not of the Rubenian dynasty, but of the Lussignian dynasty of Cyprus. Leo V (sometimes known as VI) became King of Lesser Armenia (Cilicia) by marriage, and only for a year or so. He died without issue.

Perhaps by Leo V, Guy Le Strange refers to the Leo IV (sometimes known as V), who was King of Lesser Armenia (Cilicia) during the years 1320–1342. He also was not of the Rubenian dynasty, but the Baberonian or Gorigossian dynasty. Leo IV died without leaving an heir, and had only one daughter, Zabel or Zablun, who married Amorry Lussignian.

The Rubenian dynasty at first was a dynasty of “ princes ”,

of which the last was Leo II, who later became “ King ” of the territory of Lesser Armenia (Cilicia) as the first Rubenian king, taking the title of Leo I, King of Armenia (1196–1219). As “ prince ” he was Leo II (1186–1196). Leo I also died without issue.

Besides, Clavijo’s story is told of Greater Armenia, which never had a Leo as a king.

It is my opinion that we cannot accept Clavijo’s story literally, but as a legend in which the downfall of Greater Armenia was caused by jealousy, treachery, and wars among “ three brothers ”, that is, among Armenians themselves.

The *Father king* mentioned in the story is Armenia itself ; the succeeding *sons* were the three Armenian dynasties of Greater Armenia that ruled simultaneously, and unfortunately with very little harmony. Those three dynasties were : first, the Pakraduni dynasty that ruled, with its kings and princes, in Eastern Armenia, the capital being Ani ; second, the Ardzruni dynasty that ruled in Southern Armenia in the region around Lake Van, including Alashkert ; and third the Garutz dynasty that ruled in Western Armenia, the capital being Kars. Of course it should be remembered that this legend cannot have historical and geographical accuracy ; the boundaries of the above-mentioned dynasties are blurred, and the legend, when heard by Clavijo from the people (probably Armenian narrators) of Alashkert, was already three or four centuries old, for the last kingdom of Greater Armenia was demolished or disintegrated by immigration in the eleventh century.

(7) p. 334. Tartum.—About this castle and city Guy Le Strange in his notes says, “ Tartum (its exact position unknown) lies on the borders of Georgia and is spoken of by Ali of Yezd, who describes the siege ” (p. 363). However, there is nothing uncertain about the location of Tartum or Tortum, because it still exists as a town on its ancient site. On almost any map one finds a small lake Tortum,

and also a river of the same name which, it is said, has beautiful falls, and had high cascades (the highest in the world). Tartum or Tortum was known in ancient Armenia as Vokaghe, and was (and still is) a castle with a little town below it. In the old days the entire population was made up of Christian Armenians, but when the Turks captured it in 1514, they used force to convert them to Islām, and many of them were converted to the new religion. All the castles near Tartum and in the surrounding region were captured by the Turks in 1548, but we still hear of large numbers of Christian Armenians in that territory as late as 1590. According to the contemporary Armenian historian, Hagop Garnetzi, a Turk named Djafar Molla became the census taker and tax-gatherer, and imposed such unbearable taxes on the Christian Armenians that they were forced to embrace Islām, which was the only means of escape, as their countrymen had found much earlier. These sad activities of the Turks re-occurred in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

(8) p. 334. Ispir.—In Armenian this is known as Ssber. Strabo in his Geography (?20–10 B.C.) mentions this area as the Syspiritis, where, according to him, Alexander the Great sent his general Menon to seek gold, but Menon was killed by the natives. Strabo states that Syspiritis was a region with mines of gold and other metals.

Ispir (Syspiritis, Ssber) is easily located on the maps, in the vilayet of Erzerum, on the river Djorogh.

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An Important Armenian MS. From A.D. 1330

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## AN IMPORTANT ARMENIAN MS. FROM A.D. 1330

(PLATES XII-XIII)

During 1937 I was in New Djulfa (the Armenian section of the city of Isfahān, Irān), studying the collection of over 625 rare and important Armenian MSS. in the library of All-Saviour's Monastery. Among these MSS. I especially noticed the Gospel MS. No. 481, written in Armenian "polorkir" on paper.

According to the colophon this Armenian MS. Gospel was written in the village of Lāngshen in the church of Sōurp Hovāness (St. John) in the year of our Lord 1330, by a clerical scribe Khātchādour, for an Armenian squire Constant and his wife Lady Avac (Avac dikin), who had a son, Hovāness, and a daughter, Lady Khūānt (Khūānt khātūn). The colophon informs us that the scribe Khātchādour completed his work during the days of Katholikos Zakaria, and during the reign of "Püssaid".

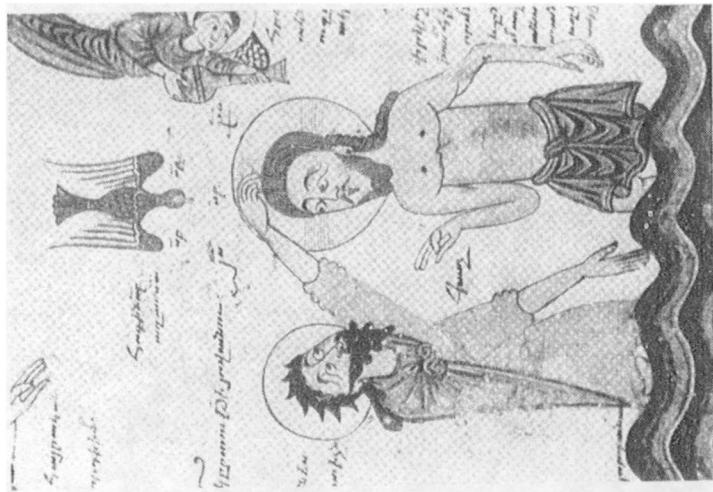
Among the Armenian katholikoses we find one at Āghtāmar named Katholikos Zakaria I Sēfetinian, who officiated from 1296 until 1336. The name "Püssaid" is the medieval Armenian name for the Persian Il-Khān Abu Sā'īd (1312-1335), the son of Khudabanda. He was known as a feeble ruler, and it is evident from the colophon remarks of the scribe Khātchādour that during his reign the Christians (Armenians) did not fare very well, and were taxed heavily.

The importance of this MS. is in the unusual and fine illuminations that adorn its pages. It contains throughout the MS. seventeen full-page miniatures or ornaments. The style of these miniatures is not of the orthodox art of illuminating Armenian Gospels of the period.

Although the scribe in his colophon does not give us the name of the illuminator, fortunately under the bases of the columns of the two calendar pages (all of which are finely illuminated) we find the name of the artist in simple decorative letters, "The illuminator Giragos remember Christ and God



This miniature represents "son Hovaness" according to the writing at the top of the miniature. One can plainly see the Arabic writing on the armband of the Armenian prince. Arabic writing in Armenian gospel illuminations is most unusual.



The baptism of Christ in the river Jordan. Left, John the Baptist, over his head the blessing hand of God. Right, Christ, over his head dove-shaped Holy Spirit, and the angel with the oil, anointing.



This miniature, according to the writing, represents on the left Anifa, wife of Hovaness, and on the right Khvant, sister of Hovaness with her firstborn Boghos (Paul) in her arms.



This miniature represents the Virgin Mary with the Child Christ; an unusual arrangement for Armenian iconography of the period.

will remember you." Thus it is revealed to us that this master Armenian illuminator was named Giragos. Beside this little else can be gleaned. The place of writing, the village of Lāngshen, was perhaps also the site of the work. Unfortunately it has been impossible for me to find the correct location of Lāngshen on the maps; however, we know that it was in the jurisdiction of Katholikos Zakaria of Āghtāmar,<sup>1</sup> whose see had very limited boundaries in the present vilāyat of Van in Turkish Armenia.

Although little is said and is known about Armenian illuminations (a very fertile and virgin ground for study with its 20,000 MSS.), nevertheless we know that orthodox Armenian illuminating art was entirely free from any Muhammadan or Islamic influence up to the fifteenth century. Armenian book illumination remained a purely religious art without any secularism, and even when Armenian MSS. contain miniature portraits of contemporary men or women (owners, scribes, or illuminators of MSS.), they are executed in the same style of religious art, except that the subjects are dressed in the costumes of the time.

The miniatures (religious or secular portraiture) of this No. 481 MS. are executed with great ability and touch, but decidedly in a style of Islamic art throughout, which is known as the school of Baghdād, and which flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in that famous capital.<sup>2</sup> This departure from the usual and accepted style of Armenian Gospel illumination shows our illuminator, Giragos, as a

<sup>1</sup> Armenians at various times had three katholikos sees: one in Sis (Cilicia), a second in Āghtāmar (island in Lake Van, Turkish Armenia), and the third in Etchmiadzin (in the present republic of Armenia, U.S.S.R.). Of these, the first two had only limited local jurisdiction, but the last one had control of all Armenians. A katholikos is the head of the Armenian Church, a "pope" only for Armenians.

<sup>2</sup> There are perfect, almost detailed, resemblances in the miniatures of this Armenian Gospel, a few of which are reproduced here, and the miniatures reproduced in Gaston Migeon's *Les Arts Plastiques et Industriels*, Paris, 1907, on pp. 2-5. Also Armenag Sakisian's *La Miniature Persan*, Paris, 1929, figs. 18, 19, 20, 22.

very courageous artist in daring to attempt something like sacrilege. His work, which is simple in colour, design, and arrangement, and faithful to the Islamic style of the School of Baghdād, evidently was accepted by other and later Armenian illuminators. Thus he was the founder of a new style of Armenian illumination that eventually became very popular among the illuminators of Armenian MSS. written and illuminated in or about Van, Pāghesh, Khizān, etc., all of which were part of the see of the katholikos of Āghtāmar, and every one of them famous and important schools and centres for writing and illuminating Armenian MSS. in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, when the mass deportations of Armenians from these provinces by Shah 'Abbās I, in the year 1603, and the eventual settlement of the deported Armenians in Isfahān, transferred among other arts and crafts this style of illuminating to that famous art capital in the seventeenth century. There, at that period hundreds of Armenian MSS. were written and illuminated.

## TWO UNEXPLAINED NAMES IN THE MILINDAPAÑHA

The names of the four counsellors of the king in the prelude to the second dialogue of the Milindapañha, viz., Devamantiya, Anantakāya, Maṅkura, and Sabbadinna, have been discussed more than once. Greek originals have been suggested for all of them (Theomantis and Demetrios, Antiochos, Menekles, Sarapodotos and Pasidotos), though with some likelihood only for the first two which are now generally believed to be Demetrios and Antiochos. An attempt to explain the other two names has been recently made by Dr. W. W. Tarn in his admirable work *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1938, pp. 422 ff.). For him, "what is material is not so much the names, whether real or fictitious, as the nationalities." Relying on Professor Pelliot's identification of the Chinese name Man-k'iu (for Maṅkura) with that of Pakor II in the



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Corrections to Arthur Upham Pope's "The Myth of the Armenian Dragon Carpets"

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## CORRECTIONS TO ARTHUR UPHAM POPE'S "THE MYTH OF THE ARMENIAN DRAGON CARPETS".

In the *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst* (1925, Berlin), Mr. A. U. Pope had an article about the myth of the Armenian Dragon Carpets.

Although I do not share his opinions expressed in this article, yet I refrain here from arguing against them. However, Mr. Pope, to substantiate his arguments, brings forward a number of "facts" that need correction.

p. 148. ". . . the fact that an Armenian king used rugs as part payment of tribute." The only reference to Armenians giving rugs as tribute we find in the works of the Arab historian Ibn Khaldūn in the eighth century (775–786). Among Armenian tributes he mentions twenty rugs, which were received by the califs of Bagdad.<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly Mr. Pope refers to this historical fact with his statement because there are no other historical testimonies in which it is shown that Armenians or kings of Armenians have given rugs as tribute.

During the period referred to in the statement of Ibn Khaldūn, Armenia was not ruled by kings, but by Arab overseers appointed by the calif of Bagdad, and following is a list of the Arab overseers of Armenia in the second half of the eighth century.

Yezid I (751–760 ?), Bakar (760 ?–1 ?), Hassan (762 ?–775), Yezid II (775–780 ?), Othman (780 ?–5), Roh (785), Khazm (785–6), Yezid III (786–7), Abdalkbir (787), Suleiman (787–790), Yezid IV (790–5), Khuzima (784–7), all of them Muhammadans.

p. 149. Mr. Pope, speaking of the rug with an Armenian inscription in the South Kensington Museum, gives the translation of the inscription : "I, Gohar, full of sin and feeble of soul have knotted this with my own hands, May he who reads pray for my soul. In the year 1129" (Armenian Calendar, A.D. 1679).

<sup>1</sup> See Alf. v. Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, i, p. 358.

I have a large photograph of this rug, and its inscription I translate verbatim thus : " I Kuhar with sin (for I am) feeble of soul I with my beginner's (' newly ripe ') hand wove who(ever) reads he pity me once (lit. ' one mouth ', or, freely translated, ' he pray for me once '), year 1149 " (A.D. 1700).<sup>1</sup>

The difference between the Armenian calendar and the A.D. calendar is 551 years, so 1129 of the Armenians plus 551 equals 1680, and not 1679.

p. 150. Mr. Pope, speaking of the Armenian " Kirmiz " dye and its use in Armenian dragon carpets, writes as if Caucasus was a distinct country, and rug-weaving sections such as Kazak, Daghestan, Kabistan, Shirvan, Shamakhi and Karabagh were parts of Caucasus and not of Armenia. However, I believe Mr. Pope could have found without much difficulty that the above-mentioned districts are nothing but mostly parts of Greater Historic Armenia. Kazak has nothing to do with Russian Cossacks. The name Kazak is derived from the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Popo has taken the translation of the inscription from *Hand Woven Carpets*, by Kendrick and Tattersall, p. 15, and naturally we cannot blame him for the errors in the translation and date. The inscription in Armenian reads :—

ԵԱ ԳՈՒԷ ԱՐՄ ՄԵԴ.ՕՐ ԶԻ ՀՈՊՈՎ.Ա ՏԿԱՐ  
ԵԱ ՆՈՐ(ա)Հ(ա)Ա ՁԵԹԱ  
ՄԵԴ ԻՄՈՎ. ԳԱ(բ)ՅԵՑԲ ՈՎ. ԿԱՐԴԱՅ ՄԵԴ  
ԲԵՐԱՄԵ ՈՂ.ՈՐՄԴ ԶՈՒ ԹՎ. (ին) Ո.ՃԱՌ

The writing is in Armenian " polorkir ". Although legible, it is not neatly and nicely written, perhaps the fault of the weaver who could not copy the scribe's writing neatly. There also is an error committed during weaving, the underlined ԶՈՒ should be corrected ԶԻՒ (" me ").

By other readers of this inscription the date has been read Ո.ՃԱՌ (1129), instead of Ո.ՃԱՌ (1149), because the weaver has made a լ but not complete, forgetting the up-turning line of the լ. At the same time this particular letter cannot be լ because all other լ's are perfectly executed in this inscription.

In Armenian dates the letter լ is equal to twenty, and լ is equal to forty. Thus can be explained the difference in the reading of the date.

ancient name of Kassakh, part of ancient as well as present Armenia of the U.S.S.R.

The group of rugs known as Daghistan, Kabistan, Shirvan, Kouba, Karaja, Karabagh, Ganja, Soumak (Shamakhi), etc., are very closely related to each other. It is very difficult to say why these rugs are named thus. Although these are generally accepted as rugs woven in those districts, we have no corroborating facts to verify the assumption. The rug dealers are not particular as to how they name their rugs, and I believe that careful research in this direction will disclose that many errors have been committed in naming rugs, and that most, if not all, of the rugs named above are woven in the provinces adjoining the Caspian Sea, south of the Caucasian mountains, a district known to geographers and historians from the 8th to the 15th century as Arran. Historic Albania (Avghank of the Armenians) formed the largest part of Arran. These lands were under the cultural influence of Armenia ; the Christian inhabitants were subjects of the Armenian church ; and quite a large portion of those provinces formed part of Historic Armenia.

Karabagh, situated between the Kur and Arax rivers, was and is purely Armenian, and was the last Armenian independent stronghold, governed by five lords ("Khamsa Melik"), all Armenians. At present it is part of the U.S.S.R. and has self-government.

411.

H. KURDIAN.

## NOTE ON LIST OF TOD MSS. No. 114 :

CACCARI (Palm-leaf)

This MS. is described in Dr. Barnett's list as a Skt. commentary<sup>1</sup> by a disciple of Jinapati upon a Pkt. work. There are actually two works, both by Jinadatta, (i) *Upadeśa-rasāyana* of 80 stanzas, fol. 1-37b, (ii) *Caccari* of 47 stanzas, 37b-67. They are written in Apabhraṃṣa, which in the case of the

<sup>1</sup> The MS. contains the Prākrit text with commentary.



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An Armenian MS. with Unique Mongolian Miniatures

Author(s): H. Kurdian

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## An Armenian MS. with Unique Mongolian Miniatures

By H. KURDIAN

WHILE in New York City in 1939, I purchased an Armenian MS. with most unusual Mongolian miniatures. The MS., now part of my collection, has been rebound crudely with the remains of an old oriental binding consisting of wooden boards covered with leather. The inside of the binding is lined with brown cotton print covered with a small design. The MS. has 109 leaves, each measuring 10 by 15 inches. Upon examining the text, paper, and script, we find that the present volume is composed of two different Armenian MSS. jumbled together without any consideration of the fact that the text materials are unrelated. Pages 2, 3, 4, 41, 52-70, and 83-96 are fragments of an *Haismāvourk* (Life of Martyrs) written about 1630, perhaps in New Djulfa (Isfahan, Persia) for the Armenian prince-merchant Khodja Nazar, his son Khodja Safraz<sup>1</sup> and their family. Although this part of the volume is very valuable and important, it is not of primary interest to us.

Pages 1, 5-40, 42-51, 71-82, 97-109 belong to an old *Jāshots* (Church ritual). It is written on thick oriental paper, two columns to the page and 33 lines to the column in fine Armenian *polorkir* (round letters). The present page 1 is adorned with a splendid *khoran* (frontispiece) and with a number of marginal illuminations and decorative capitals done in fine, bright colours of red, blue, and yellow, and executed in faithful Armenian traditional style. In this fragmentary *Jāshots* we also find two full-page miniatures: The Nativity (fig. 1) and the Crucifixion (fig. 2), which have

<sup>1</sup> See Thomas Herbert, *Travels in Persia* (1627-9), "The Argonaut Series," 1929. Khwāja Nazar (Hodge-nazar), pp. 121, 122, 137. Also the *Journal of Robert Stodart*, London, 1935, Sarphars Beg, pp. 71-3; and as Kwāja Sarfarāz, see "Court Minutes of the East India Company," 1640-43. As Khwajeh Nazar in *A Chronicle of the Carmelite in Persia*, London, 1939, pp. 245, 257, 308 (Sarfraz), pp. 378, 379, 1074.

been executed over the original writing of the MS. The writing is visible under strong light.

The lack of any signature or colophon in the *Jāshots* leaves us in darkness about the identity of the scribe, illuminator, and miniaturist. Nor do we know where or when the MS. was executed. But from an examination of the paper and script we may assume that it was sometime in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The style of the illuminations also indicates that they were done by an able Armenian illuminator of that period.

But the puzzling and curious part of the MS. are the miniatures. The colours and style of execution of both of these are the same. Opaque colours have been expertly used, and their sombre and dull appearance is very much unlike the cheerful colours of the light decorations of the Armenian illuminator. The technique of the miniatures indicates plainly that they are not the work of an Armenian, as the following facts go to show :—

(1) The miniatures have been executed upon the writing of the MS., thus injuring, of course, its usefulness.

(2) They are executed in Mongolian style. Eyes, hair, physiognomy of all the characters are typically Mongolian.<sup>1</sup> All the details convince one that the miniaturist could not have been an Armenian, not even an Armenian reared in Mongolian art. If the latter, he would have shown some Mongolian influence, but would not have been completely "Mongolian" in style. And most assuredly he would not have marred the book by painting on top of the writing.

(3) The miniaturist was not well versed in Christian history, and either was unfamiliar with the details of the Nativity and Crucifixion, or, perhaps, did not understand them. In the Nativity scene we do not see the usual group of domestic animals, and the arched building looks more like part of a palace than a humble "manger". In the Crucifixion Christ

<sup>1</sup> Through years of research in thousands of Armenian MSS. all over the world, I have not seen anything remotely resembling them.

appears fully clothed, the cross is represented as carved and decorated, the Marys are missing, etc. These facts indicate that the artist had no idea of Armenian or even Oriental traditions in Christian illustrations. His knowledge was very limited and so unorthodox that he cannot have been an Armenian, or even Christian artist.

Who then was the miniaturist ? He could not have been a Mohammedan, for no Mussulman would have polluted his hand by painting Christian subjects. Nor would a Christian have permitted a Mohammedan to desecrate a holy MS. if he could help it. The artist can only have been a pagan Tartar, or a Tartar newly converted to Christianity.

If this surmise be correct it can perhaps help us to determine the period of the execution of the miniatures as the end of the thirteenth century, for Tartars, until the reign of Kazan Il-Khan of Persia (1295–1304), were free to worship as they pleased, but during Kazan's reign they were forced into Mohammedanism. There are other minor items that contribute to a dating of the miniatures in this period. In a miniature of Ogatai,<sup>1</sup> successor of Jenghis Khan, we see the Khan seated on a couch in front of a grill of some sort, the design of which is identical with the design of the grill crossing the middle of our miniature of the Nativity ; and we see also that the decoration on the double arches in this scene resembles the decoration of Ogatai's tent. This miniature of Ogatai Khan is dated at the beginning of the fourteenth century and is classed as " Mongol school ".

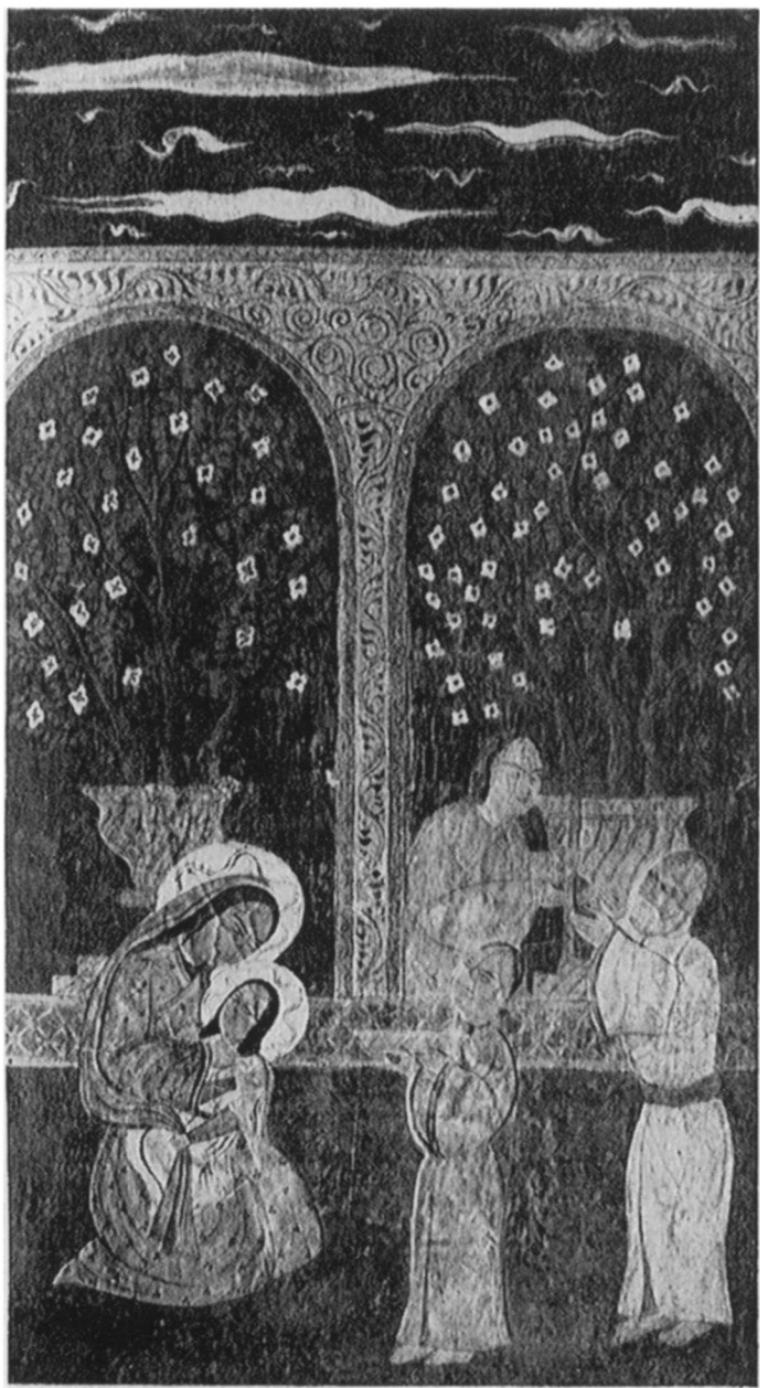
Thus in an Armenian MS. of about the thirteenth century, we find a pair of most unusual Mongolian miniatures, certainly executed by a Mongolian miniaturist. The fact that the MS. is a church ritual and not a private MS. adds to the puzzle regarding the miniatures, for their author, unfamiliar with Christian traditions, not only created his own composition of the subjects and executed it in Mongolian style, but he also disregarded the point that the MS. was for church use

<sup>1</sup> Armeng Sakisian, *La Miniature Persane* (Paris, 1929), fig. 29.

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and that he was rendering it useless by covering two of the written pages with his paintings. Perhaps through plunder or in some other way the MS. came into the possession of a Mongolian miniaturist who then produced these compositions solely to satisfy an urge to miniature a large and important-looking MS. This would explain his disregard of the relation of the miniatures to the text, of Armenian tradition, and even of the correct version of his subjects.

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THE NATIVITY.



THE CRUCIFIXION.



FRONTISPICE.



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Kirmiz

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## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

### Kirmiz

Of more than fifty different insects whose dried bodies may be used for dyeing purposes, Kirmiz is but one. Kirmiz was known to the ancients as the most beautiful red dye for coloring silks and woolens.

#### HISTORY

This red dye was the product of Armenia from earliest times. It is known to have been produced only at the base of Mt. Ararat, which is the geographic center of Greater Armenia.

In 714 B.C. Sargon invaded Armenia, then known as the land of Urartu, (Ararat) and plundered it of the wealth and treasure of the King of Urartu. Among the valuables taken was mentioned "red stuffs of Ararat and Kurkhi,"<sup>1</sup> which undoubtedly were dyed with Kirmiz.

Ghazar Parbetzy, the Armenian historian of the fifth century A.D., in describing the richness and fertility of the flats at the base of Mt. Ararat, states, "The valley of Ararat grows a sort of GRASS on which breed insects (worms) from which *Vortan* (Kirmiz) is produced, used for profit (selling) and for gorgeous dyeing."<sup>2</sup> Movsses Khorenatz (Moses of Khoren), another ancient Armenian historian, says practically the same thing.

The Armenian vortan (Kirmiz) was greatly appreciated by the Arabs and by all of the Islamic world. Preparation of the dye was a speciality of the Armenian capitals, Ardashad and Touin. Ardashad in particular was known among Islams as Kariat-al-Kirmiz (The City of Kirmiz). These two Armenian capital cities, hardly a mile apart, were the earliest textile centers of Armenia as well as of that section of Asia. The products of their looms—woolen and silken stuffs, rugs, carpets, clothing, etc.—were in great demand everywhere.

Pelakori, an eighth century Arab historian, mentions "Ardashad, which is Al-Kirmiz." A tenth century historian, Al-Baladhory, calls Ardashad "Kariat-al-Kirmiz." Ebn Haukal, the Arab geographer of the tenth century, states in his *Oriental Geography*, "Deinel is a larger city than Ardebil,

<sup>1</sup> *The Cambridge Ancient History. The Assyrian Empire*, Chapter VIII, "The Kingdom of Van" (New York 1925).

<sup>2</sup> *History of Armenians* (in Armenian), 3rd ed. (St. Lazar, Venice 1891) 28.

and chief town of Armenia; . . . Here they manufacture fine hangings, and carpets, and make the beautiful color called Kirmiz. I have heard that this kirmiz is a certain worm."<sup>3</sup> The above mentioned Deinel is the Arabic for the Armenian city of Touin. Yaqut, an eighth century Arab geographer, mentions Ardashad as Kariat-al-Kirmiz. Hamd-Allah Mustawfi of Qazwin (1340), speaking of Marant (in Armenia the greater), states, "In the plains to the south of Marant the Qirmiz insect is found."<sup>4</sup>

In his Embassy to Tamerland (1403-1406), the Spaniard Clavijo, speaking of Mt. Ararat, says, "In the valleys at the foot of the mountain the Kirmiz worm is found, with which they dye the silk crimson."<sup>5</sup> Another traveller, Sir John Chardin of the seventeenth century, mentions seeing Kirmiz in Armenia; "Marant . . . they gather Cocheneel in the places adjoining."<sup>6</sup>

In the eighteenth century the Russian Marcoff, while climbing Mt. Ararat, at the height of almost 15,000 discovered Kirmiz insects. In 1832 a request for complete information about Kirmiz was sent by the Academy of St. Petersburg, and in answer an Armenian priest (of the Armenian Monastery of Etchmiadzin at the foot of Mt. Ararat), Sahag vartabed Der Krikorian, sent a lengthy report on the subject. This report was turned into a prepared study by Academic Hamel and read before the Academy.

The above facts establish beyond a doubt that Kirmiz was a native Armenian dye.

#### THE KIRMIZ INSECT

The Armenians Ghazar Parbetzy and Movsses Khorenatz, the Arab Ibn Haukal, the Persian Hamd-Allah Mustawfi of Qazwin, the Spaniard Clavijo, and Sir John Chardin all state that the original Kirmiz was gotten from an insect or worm

<sup>3</sup> Translated by Sir William Ousley (London 1800) 160-1.

<sup>4</sup> *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulub*. Translated by G. Le Strange (London 1919) 89.

<sup>5</sup> Translated from Spanish by G. Le Strange. *The Broadway Travellers* series, p. 143.

<sup>6</sup> *Travels of Sir John Chardin* (London 1686) 351. This is repeated by Moritz von Kotzebue, *Narrative of a Journey into Persia* (London 1819) 145.

that existed at the foot of Mt. Ararat in Armenia. The two Armenian historians also state that the Kirmiz worm or insect existed on some sort of grass which supplied its nourishment, and also that this grass was peculiar to the valley of Ararat. These statements were further verified by the report sent to the Academy of St. Petersburg. From this report we learn that during the months of July, August, and September the Academy's expedition found Kirmiz in abundance in the valleys on both sides of the Araxes river, also from the village of Shorly (near Etchmiadzin) to Khorvirab, and especially around Shorly, Sourvanlar, Nedjely, Hassanabad and Khorvirab. This expedition found Kirmiz also on the other side of Araxes near the village of Sefiabad along the Sev Tchour (Kara sou) river between Tashbourouny and Karalek. All of these villages and territory are at the foot of Mt. Ararat, in Armenia proper.

The Armenian member of the expedition, Sahag vartabed, states also that Kirmiz insects are to be found breeding on grass near Salmasd and Khoy, which are parts of ancient Armenia.

The peculiar grass (*Piminella*, *Poa-Punges* or *Aeluropus Laevis*, and that which grows in swamps, *Dactylis Litoralis*) grows in great abundance in the above mentioned regions of Armenia, and is in several varieties, some having thorn-like points and others scales. Some spread along the ground while some grow above it, and upon this latter type tiny flowers appear. It is on the stems of these grasses that Kirmiz insects breed. When grown, they are about the size of half a small green pea. Sometimes they are so numerous that the ground is literally red with them. The male is darker than the female and is a brownish color with transparent wings edged with pink. It has long legs and tail, a body as smooth as silk satin, and large eyes. In general, it resembles a fly. The male of the species is useless so far as dye producing is concerned. The female Kirmiz, from which the dye is made, is a strong dark red color on top and a violet color underneath; it is flat underneath and oval on top, and is about twice the size of the male. She has six small legs too weak to support her.

The dye material is chemically known as Acide Carminique or Rouge de Cochenille ( $C_{22}H_{20}O_{13}$ ).

Webster's *Unabridged Dictionary*, Funk and Wagnall's *New Standard Dictionary of English Language*, *The Encyclopedia Americana*, *The Encyclopedia Britannica* and other books, state erroneously that the Kirmiz is "an insect found

on various species of oaks around the Mediterranean" sea.<sup>7</sup>

Similar mistakes about Kirmiz are also made by famed authors of works on Oriental Arts, Textiles, Rugs, Carpets, etc., namely: Walter A. Hawley in *Oriental Rugs, Antique and Modern* (New York 1927) 38; Dr. F. R. Martin in *A History of Oriental Rugs and Carpets before 1800* (London 1908); John Kimberly Mumford in *Oriental Rugs* (New York 1923); Armenag Sakisian, A. U. Pope, and many others.

Through ignorance Kirmiz is sometimes identified as a *berry*, and again as a *mineral*.<sup>8</sup> The name Kirmiz is also erroneously applied to red dyestuffs of other origins.

#### THE USE OF KIRMIZ

Kirmiz has been used especially for dyeing silks and woolens,<sup>9</sup> as mentioned by the Armenian historian Hovhannes Catholichos of the tenth century, and in dyeing carpets as mentioned by another Armenian historian, Sdeppanos of Darron. Kirmiz dye was so fine and beautiful that many silken stuffs dyed with it were called Kirmiz or Vortan.

As late as the nineteenth century, especially in Etchmiadzin, Kirmiz dye has been used for lettering and illuminating Armenian manuscripts. It has frequently been mixed with sealing wax to give it the beautiful red color.

Kirmiz, according to Ghazar Parbetzy, was a commodity of trade, a gainful merchandise, and according to Dr. F. R. Martin, it was formerly exported to Persia, but the price was so high that it was impossible for the Persian dyers to use it in large quantity. This was a source of many complaints from them.

#### THE NAME KIRMIZ

Webster's *Unabridged Dictionary* gives "Ker'mes (ker'meez), n. (Written also chermes) . . . from

<sup>7</sup> The insect that does breed on "oaks around the Mediterranean" should be identified as one of the fifty different species of cochineal but certainly not as Kirmiz. Cochineals also come from Mexico and other parts of the Americas and Europe. There are various species that live on cactus, oaks, and other plants.

<sup>8</sup> The *Encyclopedie Britannica* states that only in 1714 was the animal origin of *kermes* discovered. But we have already seen that among Armenians as early as the fifth century, and among Arabs in the ninth century, Kirmiz was known as an animal dyestuff. Among Europeans, Clavijo (1403-6) knew and had informed Europe that Kirmiz was an insect dyestuff.

<sup>9</sup> There have been no testimonies regarding the dyeing of cotton and linen with Kirmiz.

Sanskrit *kirmidja*, engendered by a worm, from *krimi*, Persian *krim*, worm, and *dja*, engendered, born." We can find more complete information in the monumental *Armenian Dictionary of Root Words* by the great Armenian linguist, Professor Hratchia Adjarian of the Armenian University of Erevan, Republic of Armenia (U. S. S. R.)—"Pahlavi, *karmir*, which until now was unknown in Iranian literature, only recently has been discovered (see Ganthiot, *Gram. Soga.* 143 and *MSC* 17, 247) Sograean *krm'yr* (read *karmir*) in Armenian *garmir*. According to Dr. Josef Markwart (Professor of University of Berlin), there is in Pahlavi *kalmir*, from which the Hebrew *karmil* is borrowed, meaning *kirmiz* dye as well as stuffs dyed with *kirmiz*. Also see Sanskrit *kirmira*. The root of all these words is Persian *kirm*, Zend *kərəma*(?), Sanskrit *krmi*,—worm—to which are related Albanian *kriim*, *krimp*, Irish *craim*, Polish *kirmis*,—worm—the general origin being *qərmi*, worm, *kirmiz*, *garmir* (Armenian). The reason for this development is that in ancient times the purple red was prepared from a sort of worm. See in Greek *xóxxos*, worm and *kokkivos*, red, Dutch *čirmi* worm, *črūmīnā* red, Latin *vermis* worm,

*vermiculus* kirmiz-red, Italian *vermiglio*, French *vermeil* red, Polish *virmi* worm and Ukrainian *vermjanyi* red. This Indo-European word spread throughout east and west (brought to Europe by the Moors): cf. Turkish *qərməz*, whence *qərməza*, red, Kurdish *kərməz*, Arabic *Kirmiz*, *kirmizi*, Spanish *alquermes*, French *kermes*, Italian *carmesino*, German *karmesin*, Polish *kirmes*, *alkirmes*, Bulgarian *kirmiz*, Serb *grimis*, Russian *кармазинъ*, Middle Armenian *khrmzi*, *ghrməzi* purple."

In old Armenian we have *garmir* red, *vortan garmir* or only *vortan kirmiz*. *Vortan* also is applied as a name for fine silken or woolen textiles, especially in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, in Armenian translations (mainly from Greek).

*Vortan* is derived from *Vort*, which in Armenian means worm.<sup>10</sup>

H. KURDIAN

WICHITA, KAN.

<sup>10</sup> Sir William Ousley notes, "The Persian Dictionary, entitled *Ferhang Borhan Kattea*, informs us, that *Kermez* is the name of a substance with which they tinge or dye; and that is said to be an insect gathered from certain shrubs, and afterwards dried; and that the Arabians style it *Dud-al-Sebaghein*, the Dyer's worm." (*Oriental Geography of Ibn Haukal* (London 1800) 161.)

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst.* By ANTON MOORTGAT. Staatl. Museen zu Berlin. Berlin: Mann, 1940. viii + 155 pages, 96 tables. Rm. 80.

The important collection of Near Eastern cylinder seals in the National Museum in Berlin has now been published by Moortgat. Although a number of seals are already known from earlier reproductions in various places, it is indeed gratifying to find them listed systematically together with a large amount of hitherto unpublished stones. The impressions of nearly eight hundred seals are here reproduced with some of the best photographs ever presented in a publication of this kind, and are accompanied by a clear and comprehensive catalogue. For the readings of the inscriptions, which are given together with the descriptions of the seals, Moortgat has relied on the expert help of Ehelolf and Falkenstein.

The catalogue is preceded by a "history of the development of the cylinder seal as shown by the collection in Berlin." This acquaints the reader with the historical and ethnical background of the material which covers most of the stylistic phases of Mesopotamia and the peripheral regions from the fourth millennium to the fifth century B. C. Written in a personal style, it is a running commentary on the catalogue. Four plates with chronologically and stylistically important pieces from other sources and seal impressions on tablets form a welcome addition. While concerned primarily with the collection in Berlin, the "history of the development" nevertheless represents Moortgat's effort at a general classification of the material.

This work appeared almost simultaneously with H. Frankfort's *Cylinder Seals* (London 1939). It may therefore be interesting to compare in detail Moortgat's and Frankfort's classifications.

From the very beginning, a great difference exists

An Important Armenian MS. with Greek Miniatures

Author(s): H. Kurdian

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# An Important Armenian MS. with Greek Miniatures

By H. KURDIAN

(PLATES X-XIII)

IN 1941 while in New York City I was fortunate enough to purchase an Armenian MS. which I believe will be of interest to students of Eastern Christian iconography.

The MS. is one of the Four Gospels in Armenian, written on paper leaves measuring  $7 \times 10$  inches, and in a hand representing the style of transition from uncial to round letters, a more or less distinct period in Armenian script from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The writing runs 21 lines to the page and is in one column, a most unusual arrangement in an Armenian MS. of the Gospels, especially of large size such as this, since generally there are two columns to the page. The MS. has no binding, its edges are well worn, and the paper stained from dampness and foxed. Although it has had hard usage, yet the extant portions are in fairly good condition and the writing is still protected by adequate margins. There are serious lacunæ, however, in the text. Only one leaf remains from Matthew; in Mark, ii, 19–vi, 45 is missing, together with one leaf between folios 22 and 23; Luke breaks off at x, 26, and John is entirely gone.

The MS. has a number of colophons, but only two by the original scribe. The first is at the end of Matthew (present folio 1a) where he gives his own name as Kozma "a scribe and ecclesiastic", his father's as Bedros, and his mother's as Maria. The second is at the end of Mark (present folio 33a) where he again gives his name and also the name of Baba Simeon (perhaps the recipient of the MS.) of Urha and his father, a priest Kirakos. Two lines of Greek follow, requesting the blessings and prayers of the reader. No place or date is mentioned in either of these colophons.

The name of the scribe Kozma is most uncommon among

<sup>1</sup> However there are earlier examples of transition style. In the library of Etchmiadzin No. 102/2679 is the earliest Armenian paper MS. known, dated 971. A vellum Armenian MS. fragment is dated 1040. The MS. No. 1687/1890 is dated 1174, MS. No. 921/948 dated 1196, MS. No. 163/2606 dated 1198 are all on paper, written by different scribes, and have great similarity of writing with my MS. There are some others in the transition style in the same library, No. 1561/1568 on vellum dated 1173, No. 1239/1214 on paper dated 1118, No. 2093/2101 on paper dated 1223, No. 482/3795 on paper dated 1190.

Armenians in general and scribes in particular.<sup>1</sup> A list of names of Armenian scribes, paper makers, binders, and illuminators, which I am publishing in the near future, has thousands of names, but only one scribe named Kozma. He is the scribe of the Four Gospels MS. No. 88 of the Mekhitharist Library of St. Lazaro, the Armenian monastery of Venice. This MS. is written in a very fine uncial hand on parchment and was executed in Khārpēt at the church of St. Kārābēt and St. Hāgop. Unfortunately the space for the date in the colophon has been left empty, but a later hand has written an Armenian alphabetic date equivalent to our A.D. 1205. The scribe does not give his parent's names. The MS. is undoubtedly earlier than the fictitious date of 1205, probably being from the middle of the twelfth century, but not later.

In my collection I have a parchment MS. of the Four Gospels written in the same beautiful uncial hand as the Mekhitharist (Venice) MS. No. 88, and illuminated in the same manner and style. It is therefore unquestionably written by the same scribe. Unfortunately a criminal hand has erased the scribal colophon at the end of Matthew, but a part of it at the bottom remains legible as follows: ". . . sinful scribe Kozma I beg to remember." Owing to a lacuna at the end of the MS. the last part of the main colophon of the MS. is missing. Thus we have two MSS. by Kozma, both written in the same style (uncial), on the same kind of very fine parchment material, and decorated in the same style of illumination.<sup>2</sup>

The third MS. by Kozma is the one here considered. This, as already stated, was written in transitional style rather than in uncial, and on paper in single column rather than on vellum in double columns, as were the other two (Mekhitharist No. 88 and Kurdian No. 2). Nor does it have any decoration (marginal illuminations or even decorated capitals) except a frontispiece to Mark, a large decorative U (Armenian S) capital to the same and a large bird (eagle?) on the margin under the frontispiece of Mark. Beside these original decorations there are the three miniatures (full-page and in colour) reproduced here. This variance of illumination

<sup>1</sup> The only other Kozma known to me is an Armenian MS. illuminator active 1662–1695 in Eastern Armenia. Kozma's mother's name Maria is definitely un-Armenian, and in Greek form.

<sup>2</sup> For a brief description of my MS. see Professor Allen Wikgren's article, "Armenian Gospel MSS. in the Kurdian Collection," MS. No. 2, in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, iv, part ii, 1936, pp. 155–8.

between the MSS. of Kozma is not hard to understand as not all Armenian scribes were illuminators. We have no information that Kozma beside being a scribe was also an illuminator.

My identification of this Kozma with the scribe Kozma of the other two MSS. (Mekhitharist No. 88 and Kurdian No. 2) is based more or less on circumstantial evidence. First there is the uncommon name of the scribe. Then in all the MSS. the scribe humbles himself in the same way. Finally the scribe Kozma in all three MSS. likes to inscribe his name in the same transitional style (even in the uncial gospels) in the secondary colophons which he adds at the end of the various gospels.

As we noted, the Mekhitharist MS. 88 was written in Kharpert. In the No. 2 gospel of my collection unfortunately the place of writing is not given, but various indications make me believe that it was written in the same locality. The present MS. also very unfortunately lacks information about the place of its origin. However a name in Kozma's colophon, Baba Simeon of Urha (Edessia, Urfa, on the latest maps), makes us suspect that this MS., too, must have been written in Western Armenia. The name Simeon is not as rare as Kozma and Maria among Armenians, but the title Baba (from Greek Pappas, father) is most unusual. If we add the fact that at the end of Kozma's colophon on page 33a there are two lines of Greek in the same ink and apparently of the same age as the original inscription, and that the miniatures as well as the decorations are very much in the Greek style with Greek titles written on them, we are definitely obliged to accept this fragmentary gospel<sup>1</sup> as the product of the same Greek-Syrian influenced territory of which Kharpert (and Urfa) were very much a part up until the thirteenth century. Large and active Armenian communities had resided there from time immemorial and had many churches and monasteries in the region.

Attention is invited to our MS., however, primarily for its miniatures which with their Greek-inscribed titles are most interesting for their Byzantine traditional style, expression, and composition. Three are here illustrated, but the frontispiece to Mark, although contemporary with these, and the portrait of Luke, which is of later date, are omitted.

Fig. 1 is The Baptism from folio 1b of the MS. There is a great similarity between this scene and the Baptism in the painted panel

<sup>1</sup> At the present No. 11 of Four Gospels of my collection of MSS.

of the Sancta Sanctorum (Museo Cristiano, Rome), in the fresco of the church of Qeledjlar, and in the miniature of the Menologion of Basil II (Vatican Library, Rome). All four contain only two angels, although only in ours is one each of the angel's wings upturned. The first angel in our MS. almost covers the second except for the head and part of the left shoulder, while the other three compositions disclose as much of the second angel including his hands veiled with a towel.

Our miniature shows high mountains in the background as do the other three, although it is entirely devoid of landscape or vegetation. The River Jordan in all four is presented as a cone-shaped, wavy mound. In ours the water reaches up to Christ's hips, in the Qeledjlar fresco up to the neck, in the other two up to the shoulders. In our MS. at the feet of Christ there appears in somewhat damaged condition a colourless, shadeless, plainly outlined, bearded, but almost cherubic, nude personification of the River Jordan. Beneath it the miniaturist has inscribed in red and Greek letters, "the Jordan." Only one of the other Baptisms, the Qeledjlar fresco, has this interesting detail.

Christ in our miniature is represented slightly sideways and bent forward from the hips up. An unusual feature is that here, unlike in the other three, He has His hand raised up high as if receiving the baptism. The hand of God speeding the dove, which is found over His head in the other three, is missing in our miniature. The semi-circular segment of heaven in our picture is light blue in colour with a plain border outlined in a thin line of black ink from which three equally long lines extend. A small radiant cross is in the centre of the semicircle.

John the Baptist is depicted in all four scenes with his right hand resting over the head of Christ, but in our miniature he stands erect with his left foot in the water, while in the other three representations he stands upon the river bank and is bending forward toward Christ. In the fresco and the Basil II miniatures he seems to be climbing along the bank. Also, the other three scenes show him with long, draped, and multifold clothing, but in ours he is clad in a plain shirt reaching his elbows and terminating above his knees. The sleeves and hem appear fringed, perhaps an indication of a frayed condition. The forerunner looks full face toward us and gestures with his left hand.

Two disciples of John the Baptist are presented in all of these



FIG. 1. THE BAPTISM.  
Kurdian Collection MS. No. 11.



FIG. 2. THE ANNUNCIATION TO MARY.  
Kurdian Collection MS. No. 11.



FIG. 3. SYMEON HOLDING THE CHRIST-CHILD.  
Kurdian Collection MS. No. 11.



FIG. 5. THE BAPTISM BY KIRAKOS OF TABRIS.  
Djulfa Collection No. 47.



FIG. 4. THE BAPTISM BY IKNADIOS.  
Djulfa Collection MS. No. 36.

compositions except that the Qeledjlar fresco depicts not two disciples but Jesus and John the Baptist.<sup>1</sup> In the panel of the Sancta Sanctorum only their heads and shoulders can be seen, while in the miniature of the Basil II Menologion we see them full-figured. In our miniature the disciples are far removed and hidden behind the mountain on the left bank of the river. The head of the one at the left is covered. There is also an important figure in addition to the traditional group, a fully clothed mother carrying astride upon her shoulder a naked child, whom she is evidently bringing to be baptized.

We shall omit making comparisons with the other two miniatures (Figs. 2 and 3). But all three are executed with the same ability, in light colours, and with Greek faces and figures. They also have Greek titles.

The miniatures in this Armenian MS. of the gospel's are not Armenian in character, physiognomy, costume, or style of execution. Even the tradition of presentation of the subjects is not Armenian. For those who may wish to satisfy themselves on this point I illustrate two Armenian miniatures of the Baptism for comparison. The first (Fig. 4) is a miniature by one of the most renowned of Eastern Armenian miniaturists, Iknadios,<sup>2</sup> and is found in a MS. of the Four Gospels written in A.D. 1236 (somewhat contemporary to our MS.) in Eastern Armenia and now preserved as No. 36 in the library of the Armenian monastery of Djulfa (Isfahan, Persia). In it Christ is standing in the River Jordan facing us with arms open. The water is not piled up cone-shaped to His hips. At His feet to the left we see the personification of the river in the shape of a human-headed dragon. John and the angels have exchanged their usual places. The angels, without wings but with the towel, are at the left, one of them being scarcely visible. John stands on the river bank almost on top of personified (human-headed dragon) River Jordan, and is dressed in a fringed garment resembling goat skin which reaches to his elbows and to above his knees. The scene also includes the hand of God speeding the dove from the semi-circular segment of heaven.

The second miniature (Fig. 5) was executed by another great

<sup>1</sup> I am deeply grateful to my great friend Dr. Harold R. Willoughby of the University of Chicago for communicating this information to me. He has done much excellent work in Greek Iconography.

<sup>2</sup> See my article, "Miniaturist Iknadios," with twenty-six illustrations of his miniatures in the Armenian periodical *Anahid*, No. 3, Paris, France, 1939.

Armenian miniaturist, Kirakos of Tabriz, and is taken from the gospels MS. No. 47 of the same library as the preceding. This MS. was written and illuminated in A.D. 1330 or about a century later than the time of Iknadios and of our unknown miniaturist. In the A.D. 1330 miniature the position of the angels and John are the same as is usual in Greek presentations. The River Jordan is personified as a great and knotted dragon over which Christ stands facing us with hands over his chest. His right hand is folding in the form of the apostolic benediction, thus ready to be extended in blessing. He stands in wavy water which extends in a dome-shaped pile up to his neck. John is dressed in a belted and hem-fringed shirt which covers his elbows with its folds but reaches only to above his knees. He stands with both legs knee-deep in the water. Both angels carry design-decorated or embroidered towels, and the left wing of each is turned upwards. A rocky mountain occurs on each side of the river and the sky is covered with some doughnut shaped clouds among which the semi-circular segment, the hand of God, and the dove are plainly visible.

We see then that the Armenian tradition as well as the style of execution in these two miniatures are totally different from the Greek example in the Armenian MS. of Kozma. The most outstanding difference in tradition appears in the half-clothed condition of Christ, Iknadios and Kirakos both having covered the lower part of the body. The baptism in Kozma's Armenian gospel, however, presents Christ as completely nude, without even the covering provided by a frontal position of the hands such as is found in the fresco of Qeledjlar and the panel of the Sancta Sanctorum. Our miniature has a much closer relationship to the fresco of the church of Qeledjlar, thus representing the Cappadocian style of baptism. However, the Kozma depiction is totally devoid of any Oriental physiognomy such as is found in the fresco and in the miniature of Basil II.

I have no doubt that the miniatures of the Kozma gospels are contemporary with the writing; i.e. they belong to the second half of the twelfth or the first half of the thirteenth century. These miniatures are executed on the same paper on which the original scribe Kozma has written the text, i.e. present folio 1 on one side has the end of Matthew with the first Kozma colophon, and on the reverse the miniature of the baptism. But here are some other unusual and puzzling characteristics of the MS. which should be

mentioned in this connection, such as the curious fact that the miniaturist did not use the allotted pages for the usual and traditional portraits of the evangelists. The only one which appears, the full-page portrait of Luke, was added by a later restorer of the MS. in the year 1374. This man, who left his three-line colophon at the beginning of Luke under the frontispiece, identifies himself as Karapet, a bookbinder, and it is also he who has restored to the best of his ability the first five leaves of Luke in round letter (polorkir) style and has added his full page colophon dated A.D. 1374. The fact that five leaves had to be restored by him shows that the MS. had suffered much depletion by the time it reaches his hands. But much before Karapet's day (1374) another hand had found it necessary to restore the MS. and even to add at least one leaf known to us to the Gospel of Mark by rewriting it in an unusual style and inserting it into the book. Assuming that these restorations were about one hundred years apart from each other,<sup>1</sup> we arrive

<sup>1</sup> As basis for our assumption 216 Armenian Four Gospel MSS. dated from the twelfth to the end of the fifteenth century were taken into consideration. These are catalogued in *The Catalogue of Armenian MSS. of Vassbouragan*, by Yervant Lalaian, vol. i., published in Tiflis, 1915.

No. 45	written 1188, restored	1519	No. 124	written XIV, restored	1709
No. 51	" 1251,	1651	No. 126	" XIV,	1647
No. 54	" 1273,	1554	No. 137	" 1409,	1645
No. 56	" 1280,	1754	No. 143	" 1418,	1756
No. 58	" 1286,	1595	No. 149	" XV,	1750
No. 67	" XIII,	1401	No. 151	" 1421,	1597
No. 71	" XIII,	1354	No. 163	" 1437,	1747
No. 72	" XIII,	1569	No. 167	" 1444,	1612
No. 73	" XIII,	1430	No. 179	" 1456,	1589
No. 74	" XIII,	1453	No. 181	" 1458,	1628
No. 77	" 1304,	1374	No. 191	" 1471,	1581
No. 79	" 1304,	1585	No. 198	" 1476,	1575
No. 82	" 1307,	1624	No. 220	" XV,	1677
No. 85	" 1321,	1504	No. 228	" XV,	1735
No. 92	" 1332,	1438	No. 229	" XV,	1751
No. 93	" 1336,	1602	No. 230	" XV,	1511
No. 94	" 1336,	1423	No. 233	" XV,	1655
No. 101	" 1355,	1575	No. 244	" XV,	1490
No. 102	" 1357,	1597	No. 245	" XV,	1579
No. 105	" 1375,	1798	No. 248	" XV,	1587
No. 108	" 1393,	1562	No. 142	" 1418,	no date
No. 112	" XIV,	1596	No. 238	" XV,	1587
No. 120	" XIV,	1606	No. 47	" XII,	1284

Some of these have been restored a second time, i.e. Nos. 47 in 1559, 51 in 1741, 167 in 1668, 238 in 1792, 142 in 1810. Beside these No. 63 written in 1294 restored in 1386 and again in 1580. No. 68 written in the thirteenth century restored in 1503 and again in 1592.

In this group of forty-eight MSS. only four have been restored in periods of less than one hundred years. Thus less than 8 per cent of the MSS. are restored or need restoration during the first hundred years of their existence. No. 77 written in 1304 was restored in 1374; however, this is a rare example.

Also in this group we have seven MSS. that have been restored a second time.

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at a date of about A.D. 1275 for the work of the earlier and unknown restorer. Thus the original completion of the MS. by the scribe Kozma and the unknown miniaturist must have occurred about the year 1175 or not later than A.D. 1200.

No. 167, written in 1444, was restored in 1612 and again fifty-six years after in 1668. The rest were restored a second time not less than 90 years after their first restoration, and one 275 years after.

Thus our assumption based on these facts has justification when we accept one hundred years as the time that elapsed between restorations.

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An Armenian Miniature of the 14th Century

Author(s): H. KURDIAN

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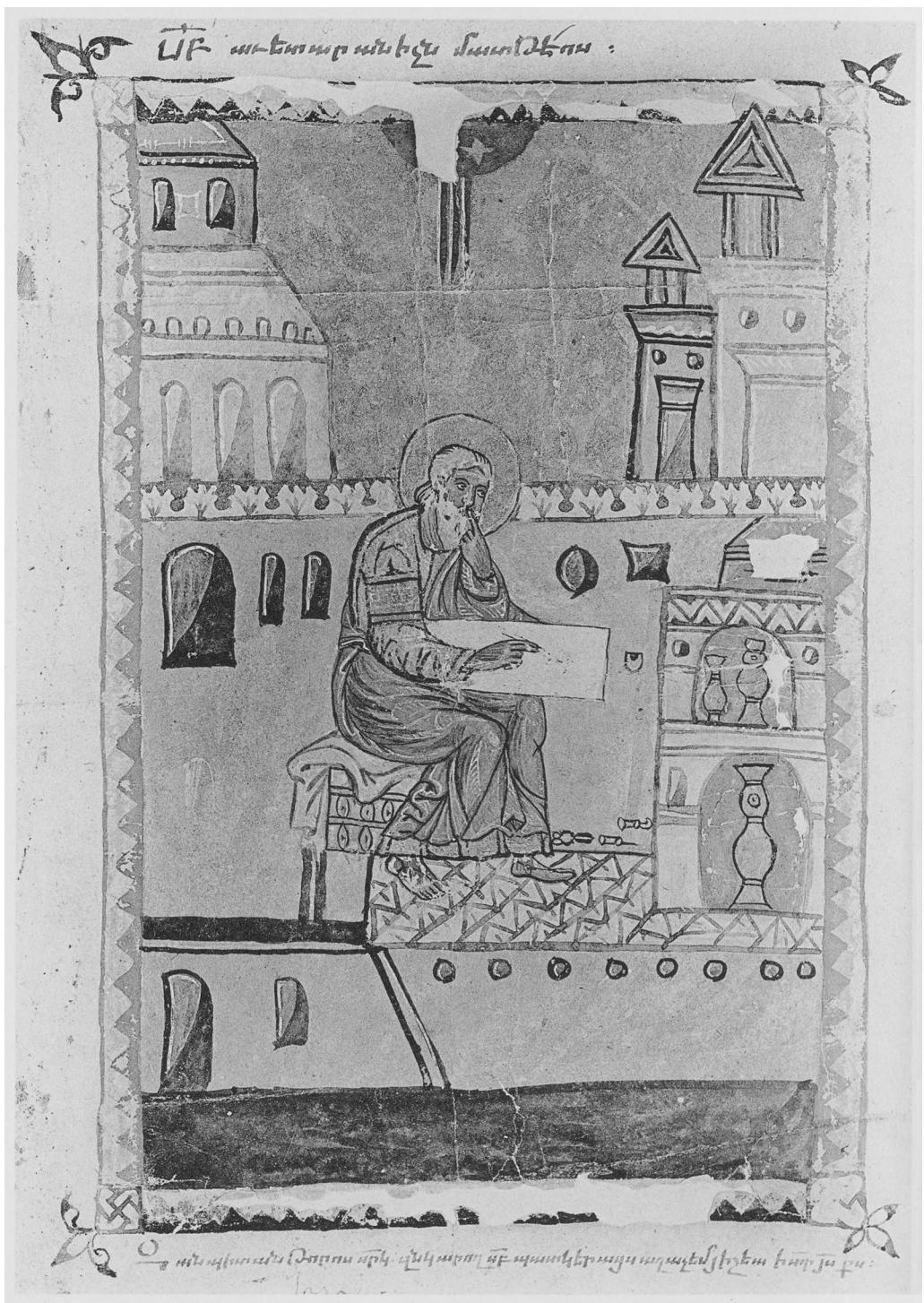
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Miniature of St. Matthew. By Toros Sargavak, ca. 1311.  
Garrett Collection. Princeton University Library

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VOLUME IV • JUNE 1943 • NUMBER 4



An Armenian Miniature of the 14th Century

BY H. KURDIAN

IN the Robert Garrett Collection of Oriental Manuscripts recently presented to the Princeton University Library there are a number of Armenian manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts. I hope to dwell on them further in the near future in the *Library Chronicle*, and bring to the attention of the learned the great importance of some of these Armenian manuscripts. However, at this time I shall introduce only one miniatured page from the Garrett Collection.

The page measures 14 $\frac{3}{4}$  by 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches of thick paper and the miniature represents the apostle Matthew. The picture actually occupies a space measuring 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  by 9 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches. It shows three lengthwise creases indicating that at some time past it was thus folded and placed in an envelope. Otherwise it remains in fairly good state. On the lower margin of the miniature there are a few words subscribed by the illuminator, in Armenian "polorkir" (round letter) "Worthless Toros Sargavak (deacon) the painter of these holy pictures I beg to be remembered to Lord Jesus Christ." On the top margin there is the legend, "St. Matthew Evangelist." The verso is covered with memoranda of later possessors of the manuscript which have nothing to do with the origin of the manuscript.

It is evident that this miniature has been taken from an Armenian manuscript of the four gospels. On the upper corner of the miniature we can see the pencil numeral 22, which undoubtedly was the page number of the original manuscript. I do not know when, where or how Mr. Garrett secured the miniature, but I have been able to trace and identify the manuscript from which someone had ruthlessly removed it.

In the years 1905-06 Mr. Hratchia Adjarian compiled a catalogue of Armenian manuscripts in Tabriz, Iran. This catalogue was published in German and Armenian in the year 1910 in Vienna. The German title reads, *Katalog Der Armenischen Handschriften in Tabris*. Among various Armenian manuscripts we discover the description of an Armenian Book of Gospels (*Avedaran*) which then belonged to the church of the Holy Mother of God in Tabriz. When Mr. Adjarian saw and described the manuscript for his catalogue it contained three hundred and forty-eight folios, complete with interesting silver binding, eighteen full page miniatures, four of the Evangelists, fourteen full page ornaments and many other marginal illuminations, decorative capitals, etc. He also adds the information that the manuscript was in good condition.

Between 1906 and 1924 the manuscript disappeared from the church, for in 1924 Frederic Macler published a book, *Documents d'Art Armeniens* (Paris, P. Geuthner) in which there were illustrated six miniatures (three leaves with miniatures on each side), four of them described as from the Rosenberg Collection and the other two (figs. 255 and 256) from "Ancienne Collection Hatchick Sevadjian." It is evident that those miniatures did belong to the Four Gospels of Tabriz. The four miniatures formerly of the Rosenberg Collection eventually found their way to the U.S.A. and now they are in the collection of my friend Mr. Harutiu Hazarian of New York City. In 1943 in New York City, I was able to see two more miniatures from this same manuscript representing full page miniatures of the Evangelists Mark and Luke, the last of which I purchased, since it had an important subscription of the illuminator Toros. The miniatures of Mark and Luke were in deplorable condition, the original size of the pages, which is retained in those in the Garrett and Hazarian Collections, had been reduced and the pages mutilated, and to complete the damage the miniatures had been crudely glued to some thick cardboard. Thus the breaking up of the original manuscript must have occurred between the years 1906-1924, and less than twenty years ago. The whereabouts of the rest of the manuscript and miniatures I am sorry to say I have not been able to trace, hard as I have tried.

Fortunately in his catalogue, Mr. Adjarian, besides describing the manuscript in complete detail gives every subscription exist-



Miniature of St. Luke. By Toros Sargavak, ca. 1311. From  
mss. collection of H. Kurdian, Fragment No. 27

ing in it. From his careful description we see that the Garrett miniature really was the twenty-second leaf of the original manuscript. Its subscription as well as those on the back of the miniature are exactly the same as those in the catalogue, thus assuring us beyond any doubt that this Garrett miniature is a fragment from the Tabriz manuscript.

According to the main subscription these four gospels were written in the Armenian year 760 (1311 A.D.). The name of the scribe-priest is Tzer. The illuminator and the miniaturist of the manuscript is Toros Sargavak who has a number of subscriptions scattered through the manuscript, some under his miniatures.

Although the manuscript has a great many and some exceptionally long subscriptions from the scribe, illuminator and various possessors, still we cannot find any information as to where it was written, or who the scribe was. He neglects to give us the name of his parents, but he informs us that he was married and had a son Markare; also that he had an unnamed brother. Nor can we glean any information about the illuminator, Toros Sargavak. The lack of additional information, such as the name of his parents, etc. renders it difficult to recognize him among others of his namesake of Armenian illuminators of the same era. I have no proof for identifying him with the very famous illuminator Toros of Daron who flourished from 1284 to 1346, and produced prolifically for sixty-two years.

As an illuminator Toros Sargavak undoubtedly is one of the best among Armenian illuminators. Since we have not his complete manuscript and none of the full page ornaments or marginal illuminations, and can judge only from his portrait miniatures, we can surely say that he was a master of his art. His execution is free and light, his observation unusual, as he executes the flesh of the hands and face opaque blue, green, yellow, red. He uses gold freely. The expressions on the faces of his subjects are unusually alive and good. He is mainly influenced from Byzantine-Greek iconographic art. He follows Byzantine traditions of pictorial compositions. I regret, that for the present at least, I cannot say more than this about him and his art, only identifying him as a truly remarkable artist.

In Luke's miniature, which is in my collection now, the pigments of his colors have corroded the paper in various places and thus effected considerable damage by causing quite large pieces

to fall from this miniature. The same corrosion exists in the miniature of Mark, and to a small extent in the Garrett miniature, but I failed to note it in the miniatures in Mr. Hazarian's collection.

I hope that some day the rest of this martyred manuscript will come into good hands and thus be saved from complete destruction, and that some day such vandalism committed on old manuscripts will cease, and that the art treasures inherited from our ancestors will be saved for posterity.



Most agree that books worth reading are worth reading more than once: *Repetitio est mater studiorum*. Any book that is important, says Schopenhauer, ought to be at once read through twice; partly because on a second reading the connection of its parts will be better understood, and partly because we are not in the same temper and disposition on both readings. Every good book, says another, is worth reading three times at least, and Benjamin Jowett held that all sensible persons were in the habit of reading *Pickwick Papers* at least twice a year.—*Anatomy of Bibliomania*



#### ON LOOKING INTO A COPY OF HERRICK IN THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

“Die ere long, I’m sure, I shall,”  
Wrote Herrick, thinking on his fame:  
“After leaves, the tree must fall.”  
Yet trees turn logs, and logs breed flame,  
And slyly, Herrick, through the dark  
Winks this commemorative spark.

CARLOS BAKER

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An Armenian Silver Binding Dated 1653

Author(s): H. KURDIAN

Source: *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, APRIL, 1946, Vol. 7, No. 3 (APRIL, 1946), pp. 118-119

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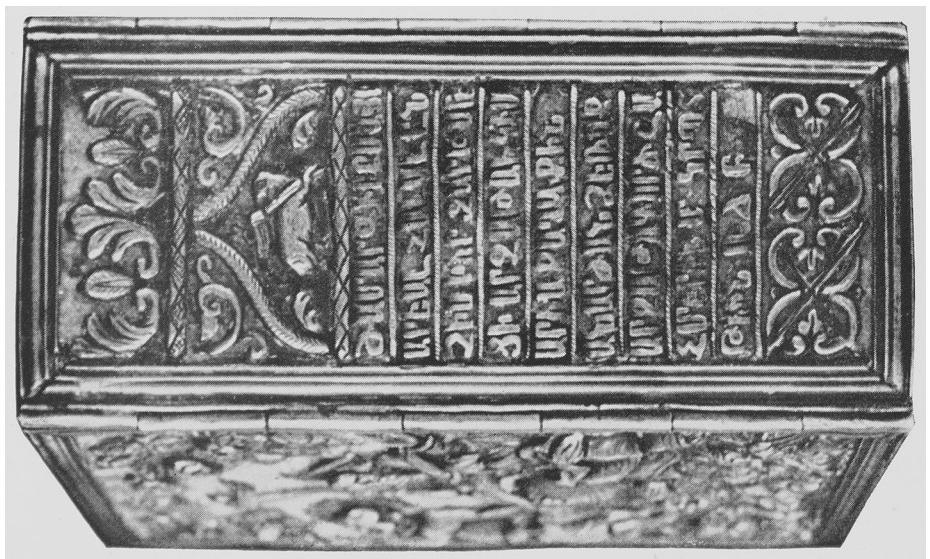
## An Armenian Silver Binding Dated 1653

BY H. KURDIAN

**A**MONG the Armenian manuscripts in the Robert Garrett Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, in the Princeton University Library, there is a small silver-covered manuscript catalogued in the De Ricci *Census of Mediaeval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* as number twenty. The manuscript measures scarcely three by three and one-half inches and consists of some two hundred leaves of paper, written in Armenian characters and illuminated in red. The manuscript is an Armenian prayer book and although it contains no colophon, to judge from the writing and the illumination, we can state that it definitely belongs to the seventeenth century. Of special interest to us is the silver and enamel binding on the manuscript.

The front cover bears a representation of "The Birth of Christ"; the rear cover a representation of "The Baptism." These are hinged together by a solid silver panel which covers the backstrip of the binding. The front and back covers are solid silver plates, executed in repoussé style with the background filled in with blue, green and white enamel. The backstrip also in repoussé style has Armenian decorations and an inscription which reads: "This Brevarium (silver covers) was made by silversmith, Shamir M. Karpet in the year 1102." The year given as 1102 is of the Armenian era and is equivalent to A.D. 1653. The silversmith, Shamir M. Karpet, was evidently a brother of Shamir M. Hagop, to whom we are indebted for another silver binding dated 1671, the inscription of which informs us that the covers were executed in the city of Caesarea in Cappadocia (Asia Minor).

We know of the existence of ten silver bindings now scattered through various libraries and collections, which were executed in Caesarea (Cappadocia). These are dated 1653, 1656, 1660, 1661, 1671 (two), 1676, 1683, 1687, 1691. Each contains an inscription giving the date, the name of the maker and the place. Judging from the workmanship we can see that they are all very closely related to one another in iconography and decoration. The colophons are copied from one another with very little variation. The names of the silversmiths indicate that they are descended from the stock of the Armenian artisans who emigrated from Persian Armenia at the beginning of the seventeenth century and established



this school of Armenian silver binders in Caesaria (Cappadocia), flourishing from 1653-1691.

The silver covers on the Garrett manuscript as the inscription indicates is dated 1653 and is therefore the earliest silver cover known to be executed in the silver binding school of Caesaria (Cappadocia). It is probable that these covers did not originally belong on the present manuscript as the manuscript itself does not warrant such an expensive decorative silver binding, but were perhaps placed in later years on this manuscript whose chief qualification is that it is of an exact size to fit this very important silver binding.



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The Newly Discovered Alphabet of the Caucasian Albanians

Author(s): H. Kurdian

Source: *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Apr., 1956, No. 1/2 (Apr., 1956), pp. 81-83

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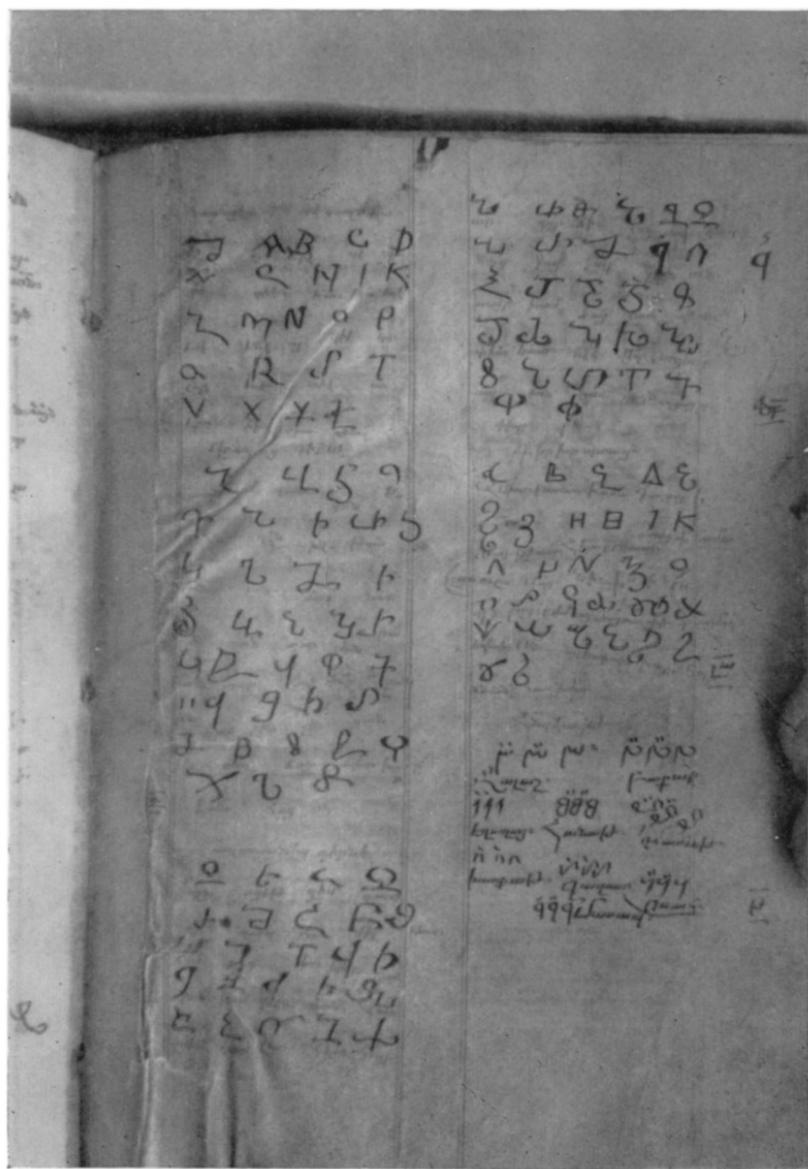
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From an Armenian manuscript in the H. Kurdian collection  
written in 1580-1621.

# THE NEWLY DISCOVERED ALPHABET OF THE CAUCASIAN ALBANIANS.

BY H. KURDIAN

(PLATE III)

IN 1953 I WAS ABLE TO purchase an interesting late sixteenth-century Armenian manuscript written extensively on paper and beautifully illuminated and adorned with fine miniatures in colour and gold. This manuscript, now incorporated in my collection of Armenian manuscripts, contains a rare Armenian glossary with a wealth of linguistic and grammatical information and the most complete extant text of the arithmetical tables prepared originally by the great seventh-century Armenian scientist, Anania of Shirak. The part that interests us here, however, is that which depicts a number of different alphabets with the name of each letter transliterated into Armenian script. This part contains among others the alphabet of the Aluank', the Caucasian Albanians, which, according to Koriwn,<sup>1</sup> was invented by St. Mesrop, the inventor of the present Armenian and Georgian alphabets. For fifteen hundred years the information given by Koriwn remained totally uncorroborated, for not a single character was found on stone, metal, vellum, or paper that could be recognized for sure as Caucasian Albanian.<sup>2</sup>

In 1938, however, two Georgian scholars, A. Shanidze and I. Abuladze, published two articles called *The newly discovered*

<sup>1</sup> "Then there came and met him (St. Mesrop) a priest of the Albanian nation named Benyamin, and inquiring from him and examining the barbarous words of the Albanian language he (St. Mesrop) formed alphabets in accordance with his heaven-given vigorous manner, and by the grace of Christ he successfully arranged and weightily established (the Albanian alphabet)". (Koriwn, ed. Venice, 1894, p. 29.)

<sup>2</sup> Twenty-one so-called Albanian letters contained in an Armenian manuscript dated 1535 were reproduced in N. Karamianz, Einundzwanzig Buchstaben eines verlorenen Alphabets, ZDMG.XL (1886), pp. 315 ff., but these are merely thinly disguised Armenian cryptograms; cf. Shanidze, op. cit., *infra*, pp. 46, 47. The same can be said, says Shanidze, of the so-called Albanian alphabets in the Etchmiatsin MSS. Nos. 3124 and 2013. Shanidze thinks that a potsherd from Old Ganja, now contained in the Institute of History, Language, and Literature of the Azerbaijan branch of the Academy of Sciences in Baku, may bear an Albanian inscription. A reproduction of this inscription is given on p. 61 of his article, but Professor H. W. Bailey points out (*Caucasica, JRAS.*, 1943, p. 4) that the published photograph is not clear enough to permit of comparison; cf. D. Diringer, *The Alphabet*, London, 1948, pp. 326-7, fig. 152.1.

*alphabet of the Caucasian Albanians and its scientific significance* and *The discovery of the alphabet of the Caucasian Albanians* respectively.<sup>1</sup> These articles contain a detailed description of MS. No. 7117 of Etchmiatsin which was copied by Yovhannēs of Arčēš<sup>2</sup> at the request of T'ovma Vardapet, Abbot of the Monastery of Metzob, from an original manuscript brought from the Armenian colony of Kafa in the Crimea<sup>3</sup> by the Armenian Catholicos Kirakos of Virap (1441–42). The manuscript must have been copied prior to 1446, the date of T'ovma's death.<sup>4</sup> Evidently MS. No. 7117 remained in the monastery of Metzob until the second half of the sixteenth century, when David Vardapet brought the manuscript with him to the Monastery of Baritzor in Khizan, where he loaned the manuscript free of charge to the scribe Yovhannēs who about 1580 copied from it the manuscript in my possession. When he died the manuscript was completed, illuminated, and decorated with miniatures in colours and gold in 1621. The original Kafa manuscript is lost to us; No. 7117 which was copied from it is in the State Library at Eriwan (Armenian SSR) and my manuscript was copied in part from No. 7117.

To the existing knowledge on the subject may be added the fact that a reproduction of the Albanian alphabet is to be found in the manuscript in my private collection in Wichita, Kansas, U.S.A. The photograph accompanying this article shows the alphabet as

<sup>1</sup> A. Shanidze, Novootkrytyj Alfavit Kavkazskix Albancev i ego Znacenie dlja Nauki; I. Abuladze, K Otkrytiju Alfavita Kavkazskix Albancev (Izvestija Instituta Jazyka, Istorii i Material' noj Kul'tury im. Akad. Marra Gruzinskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR, Vol. IV; the articles were published together as a separate offprint (Tiflis, 1938, pp. ii, 72) with summaries in Georgian and French); cf. G. Dumézil, Une chrétienté perdue : les Albanais du Caucase (Melanges Asiatiques, Paris, 1940–1, pp. 126 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Yovhannēs is also known as Mankasarentz from his father's name, Mankasar. Some 232 manuscripts, of which only about twenty have reached our times, are attributed to his pen; perhaps less than ten, two of which are in my collection, are extant to-day.

<sup>3</sup> Driven by the Seljuk invasions in the eleventh century many Armenian emigrees from Ani and the other great cities of Armenia moved to the Crimea (Kafa, etc.), taking along with them large numbers of Armenian manuscripts. A. Shanidze (op. cit., p. 13) says that the State Literary Museum of Eriwan contains more than forty manuscripts copied at Kafa from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> A. Shanidze, op. cit., p. 13.

it appears in my manuscript and the various fifty-two letters are named therein as follows :—

alt‘, odet‘, zim, gat, ēt, zavl,  
en, žil, t‘as, ča, mud, ža, iob,  
ša, lan, ina, xēn, dan, čao, zox,  
kar, lit, hēt, hay, ar, coy, či,  
čar, mak, kat, nuç, jay, čak‘,  
jayn, un, tay, xam, jay, čat, pewn,  
p‘ew, kat, sēk, vēz, tiwr, soy,  
ion, caw, jayn, yayd, p‘iwr, k‘iw.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The names of the letters in MS. No. 7117 in Hübschmann's system of transliteration would be as follows : alt‘, odet‘, zim, gat, ēb, zarl, en, žil, t‘as, ča, yud, ža, irb, ša, lan, ina, xēn, dan, čar, zox, kar, lit, hēt, hay, ar, coy, či, čay, mak, kar, nuç, jay, šak‘, jayn, un, tay, xam, jay, čat, pēn, p‘es, kat, sēk, vēz, tiwr, soy, on, caw, jayn, yayd, p‘iwr, k‘iw ; Shanidze, op. cit., p. 28.

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### THE KOREAN BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

The Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was reconvened at a meeting held in Seoul on 23rd February, 1956. Mr. H. G. Underwood, formerly Vice-Chairman, gave a brief account of its history and objects. He recalled that its work had been interrupted by the second World War and had hardly been renewed before it was broken off by the Communist invasion of 1950. Pointing out that four of the nine members of the last Council had been captured by the Communists, and remembering in particular the late Rev. Charles Hunt, he said that a provisional Council had now been set up, with whose help it was hoped that a body of members would be recruited and a series of activities arranged.

Dr. George Palk, of the Chosen Christian University, read an interesting paper on a Korean Buddhist monk, Hei Cho, who travelled through India in the first quarter of the 8th century. A copy of his travel diary was discovered by Sir Aurel Stein, but had not previously been made public in the English language.

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Assizes of Antioch

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## ASSIZES OF ANTIOCH

By H. KURDIAN

ANTIOCH, UNDER THE government of the Crusades, for 200 years was ruled judicially by a series of assizes the original text of which remains lost.

In 1870 an Armenian scholar-priest, Father Hovhaness M'krian of Constantinople, published a letter in an Armenian periodical to which he added a few notes, stating that he had discovered an Armenian manuscript belonging to a Mr. Manoug Aslanian that contained various codices. This collection of religious and civil laws was copied in A.D. 1331 for the king of Armenians, Levon, son of Oshin. The scribe of this manuscript was the well-known Sarkis, surnamed Bidzag, who illuminated it and decorated it with a full-page miniature in gold and colour, showing King Levon seated in court to pass judgment. In this law book was incorporated an Armenian translation of the *Assizes of Antioch* with seventeen articles about liege lords and serfs, and their rights as well as their obligations towards each other, and twenty-one assizes dealing with civilians. This manuscript was secured for the library of the Mekhitarists in Venice and is kept there now.

In 1876 two articles, one in French and the second in Armenian, were published by Mekhitarist Father Leont Alishan in the monastic periodical *Pazmaveb*, entitled " Assizes d'Antioche at Sempad le Connetable ". Shortly after a large octavo volume was issued from the same Mekhitarist press containing the old Armenian translation with a new French translation opposite. For the first time Western scholars had access to a very old Armenian translation of the original lost *Assizes of Antioch*.

This translation had an interesting and informative translator's colophon, which was duly copied by Sarkis Bidzag in his copy of A.D. 1331. This colophon stated : " Here we commence to put into writing, with the help of Almighty God, the customs and the assizes of the Barony of the Metropolis of Antioch, to show the customs and the obligations liege lords and serfs have towards each other. There are seventeen chapters indexed. I, Sempad, servant of God, a constable of the Armenians, and son of Constantin and brother of the pious Hetum king of the Armenians and lord of Babaroon, asked for the text from the august prince of princes, Sir Simon, the constable

of Antioch, a blood relation of ours. He had the Assizes, which were composed by Sir Pierre de Ravendal and Sir Thomas the Marshal and other wise and learned princes of Antioch, who had put them in writing in the time of Prince Bohemond. The text was presented by the reposed-in-Christ Sir Mencel the Constable to his son Sir Simon, who, because of my desire for the assizes presented it to me, and I worked and translated them into the Armenian language. For because our nation followed the assizes by custom, and the Armenian court was ruled by it, occasional errors used to happen, causing mistakes and spiritual harms, and in the judgment on great cases there would be confusion. For this reason I with much labour found this text and desired to translate it, and when I had done it, I sent my translation to the court of Antioch, there to be compared and endorsed with its testimony. And this translation is word to word just and correct ; whoever wishes to use the Assizes correctly will find this the true Assizes of Antioch."

So according to Sempad the *Assizes of Antioch* were composed by Sir Pierre de Ravendal who, as Petrou de Ravendello, is mentioned in a document dated A.D. 1200. Sir Thomas the Marshal, his collaborator, was alive as late as A.D. 1231. These two and "other wise and learned princes of Antioch" composed the *Assizes of Antioch* "at the time of Prince Bohemond". Unfortunately it is not clear which Prince Bohemond is meant, as a number of Bohemonds succeeded one another on the throne of Antioch. Sempad also informs us that the original *Assizes of Antioch* was in the possession of Sir Robert Mancel, Constable of Antioch, who was alive in A.D. 1210, then it was inherited by his son, Sir Simon, who also became Constable of Antioch. He presented his manuscript of the *Assizes of Antioch* to Sempad, who translated the text into Armenian some time in the thirteenth century.

In 1869 another Armenian ecclesiastic scholar, Vahan vartabed Pastamiantz, doing research among the MSS. in' the monastic library of Etchmiadzin, discovered under no. 491 a MS. collection of laws, copied by a scribe Vartan in the monastery of Garmir Vank in A.D. 1618. This was a copy of Armenian laws that Constable Sempad had collected and put in one volume ; another copy was the one executed by scribe and illuminator Sarkis Bidzag in A.D. 1331. Fortunately the Etchmiadzin copy dated A.D. 1618 contained also part of the original colophon-preface that had been omitted by Sarkis Bidzag in his copy. Sempad in this colophon-preface states :

"I, Sempad, unworthy and sinful servant of God, son of Constantin, the sire of a king, and a brother of the pious king Hetum. With much work travailed with aged hands and mind at this law book gathered from ancient manuscripts, hard to understand, and corrupted so that a user could not understand and was unable to benefit from it, and with much work I changed this to easy and ordinary language in the year of the Armenians 714 (A.D. 1265)." It was in this collection that Sempad had included his translation of the *Assizes of Antioch*. So the Armenian translation of the *Assizes of Antioch* must have been done by Sempad in A.D. 1265 or before.

The copies of the Armenian translation of the *Assizes of Antioch* by Sempad now extant are dated the oldest in A.D. 1331 and the latest in 1618. They have a common origin but the latter was not copied from the A.D. 1331 MS. Both have the same number of assizes, but contain different segments of the A.D. 1265 colophon of Sempad.

It is important to note that Sempad in that colophon states : "And because our nation followed the assizes by custom, and the Armenian court rules by it, occasional errors have happened, causing mistakes and spiritual harms, and in the judgment on great cases there would be confusion." There can be no doubt that before Sempad's translation there was at least one other Armenian translation of the *Assizes* used by the Armenians of Antioch as well as by the Armenians in the Kingdom of Cilicia or Lesser Armenia.

A few years ago I bought a collection of Armenian manuscripts and among them discovered a collection of laws executed for a learned Bishop Karabet, in the year A.D. 1622, by the scribe Krikor of Hizan, in the city of Hizan, in Turkish Armenia. The manuscript contained a copy of the Armenian translation of the *Assizes of Antioch*. Examination showed the text of my MS. to be totally different from Sempad's translation, though the sense was the same. My copy contained only eight assizes, the first eight in the same sequence as in Sempad's version. There were no missing pages in that section of my manuscript and the scribe Krikor does not mention missing parts in his original. My copy was without any preface or index. May my Armenian version of the assizes be a much earlier translation than Sempad's, and the one to which Sempad alludes as in use among the Armenians in the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia before he translated his version ? The *Assizes of Antioch* no doubt was not composed all at one time, but was augmented as need demanded. My copy which contains eight assizes may be the

first or one of the earliest series of *Assizes of Antioch* to have been translated into Armenian, perhaps some time in the twelfth century. I have published it with comparative notes in the Armenian periodical *Pazmavet* (St. Lazzaro, Venice) in 1956 (pp. 15–21). In 1958 both known Armenian translations were translated into Russian and published in the Armenian periodical *Banber*, official organ of the State Library of Manuscripts, Erevan, Armenia, U.S.S.R. Sempad's Armenian version was translated into Russian by A. A. Babovian and my manuscript by G. N. Iuzbashian.

Perhaps proof of the long use of the *Assizes of Antioch* among the Armenians is the corruption of the word "assize" into "anssize". Many other corrupted French words occur in my text, such as *simun* or *simon* for French *sumondre* "summon", *chalentch* for French *challenger* "challenge", etc.



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A Note on Persian Blue and White Wares with Armenian Monograms in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London

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# A NOTE ON PERSIAN BLUE AND WHITE WARES WITH ARMENIAN MONOGRAMS IN THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON

By H. KURDIAN

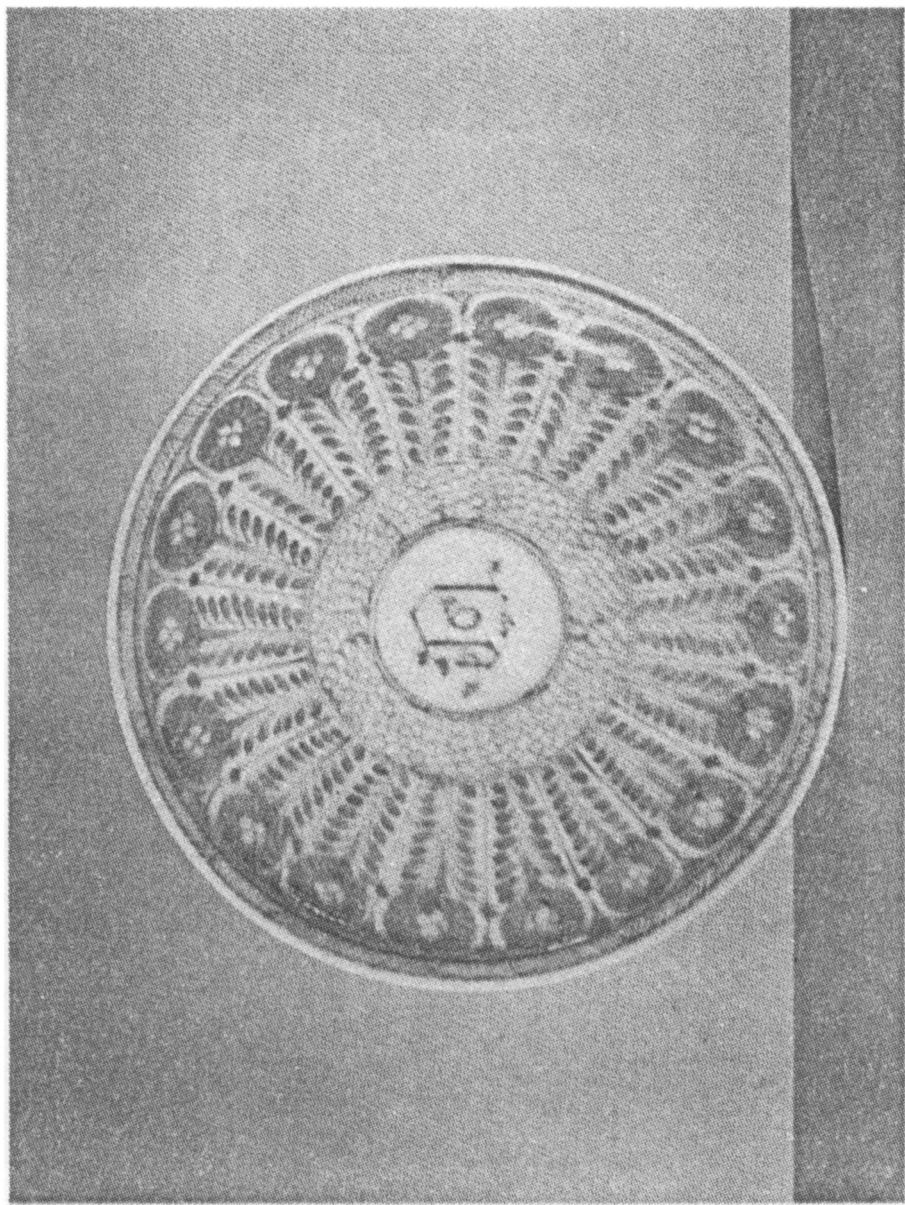
PLATES I-II

THE GREAT AND IMPORTANT Armenian colony of New Julfa in İsfahān, Iran, was in existence from the very beginning of the seventeenth century, when Shāh 'Abbās I deported large groups of Armenians from their homeland to the districts of Chahār Mahāl and İsfahān, the capital, and to Perria (Aleppo). In a very short time, expatriate Armenians made New Julfa a great suburb of the city, gaining universal recognition as an important eastern centre of trade and commerce and glowingly described by all European travellers who visited İsfahān in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

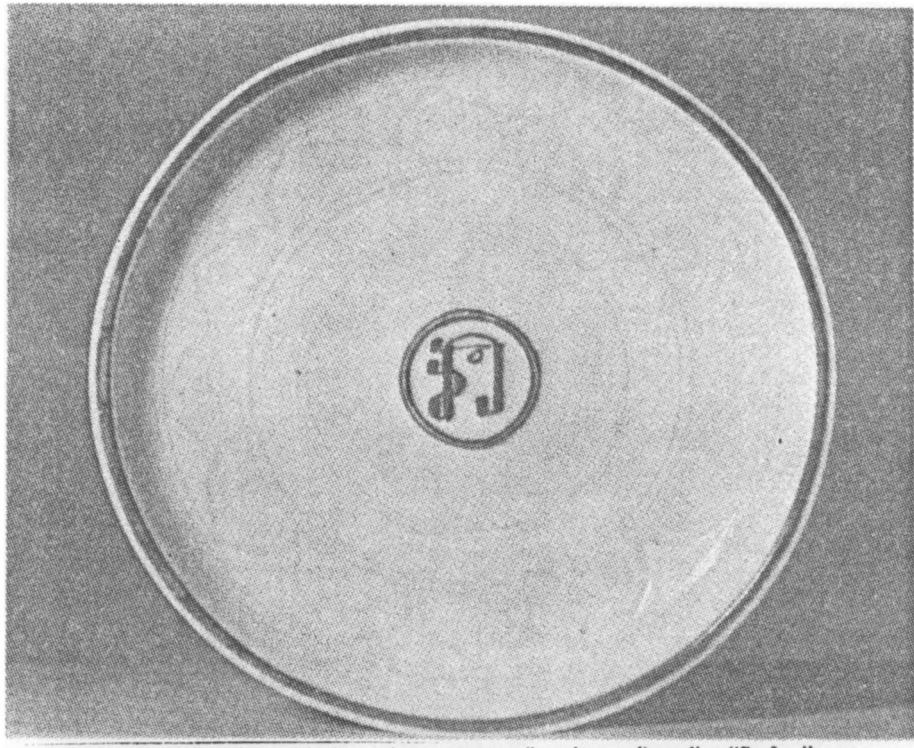
The flourishing Armenian colony soon built numerous churches, a nunnery, and an important monastery with a school, a library, archives, and an active printing press which was the oldest in the Near East. Most of these establishments still remain in service as an eloquent testimony to the Armenians' love of art and culture, their Christian devotion, and their desire for education under the very adverse conditions which they experienced. Many Armenian churches in New Julfa were decorated with frescoes and fine decorative polychrome tiles. Fortunately, the Armenian tradition of enriching their votive gifts with donors' inscriptions enables us to date them. The same tradition was in force when tiles were donated to adorn the churches of New Julfa. Thus we know that the polychrome tiles of the church of Sourb Astwatzazin (Holy Mother of God), although restored in 1841, were originally dated A.D. 1651 and 1661. During restoration, unfortunately, the original sequence of the tiles was not maintained. Although a panel of tiles on the western entrance of the Church of the All-Saviour bears the dates A.D. 1655 and 1664, the tiles of the panel were made about the beginning of the eighteenth century and the older dates pertain to the building of the church. There are also panels of tiles with Christian religious subjects dated A.D. 1710 and 1719.<sup>1</sup>

In the rich collection of Persian ceramics at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, there is a blue-on-white plate with a simple Armenian monogram (Pl. I). There is another plate, exactly similar in size, quality, design, colouring, and monogram, in the fine ceramic collection of the Mekhitarist monastery of St. Lazzaro in Venice, and a third one in the private collection of an Armenian, Mr. H. Hazarian, of New York City. The similarity of these three plates removes any doubt that all three of them originally belonged to a single

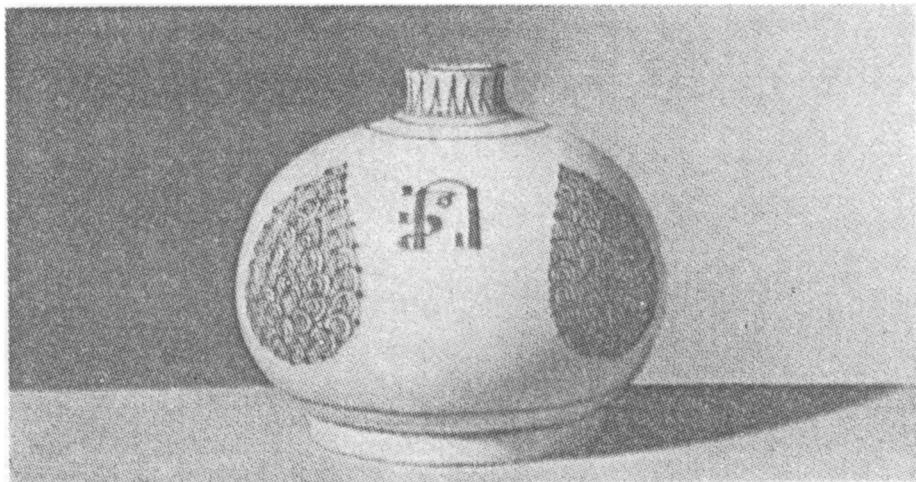
<sup>1</sup> On the door of the St. George Church in New Julfa there is a tile-panel representing the Adoration of the Magi. Mr. John Carswell, writing about this panel, states: "Above the north door of St. George's Church is the earliest panel dated 1619, depicting The Adoration of the Magi (Plate 20)." Again, "The north door is also framed with brick and tile mosaic, and above it is a second *cuerda seca* tile panel, The Adoration of the Magi (Plate 20). It consists of twenty-eight tiles, inscribed in Armenian, and dated 1619; it is thus the earliest dated group of pictorial tiles of this type." Finally, under Plate 20 again, is the date 1619. (*New Julfa: The Armenian churches and other buildings*, Oxford, 1968, 27 and 38.) This is an obvious error, since one can clearly see on Plate 20 the inscription of this panel with its date in Armenian as 1719. Another pictorial panel of tiles at the same church executed in the same manner as the Magi is dated 1716/1717.



Blue-on-white Persian plate with Armenian monogram (here inverted) reading "Nazaret".



(a) Persian plate with Armenian monogram (here inverted) reading "Sarfraz".



(b) Persian wine bottle with Armenian monogram (inverted) reading "Sarfraz".

dinner service. The monogram executed in blue on white in the centre of the plate could easily be deciphered as "Nazaret".

Two more items in the ceramic collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum are a plate (No. 2714–1876. Pl. II (a)) and a wine bottle (No. 1248–1876. Pl. II (b)) of which the long neck has been broken and is now missing. I believe that both these items belonged to another dinner service. Both have the same monogram, which could be deciphered as "Sarfraz". Curiously, the monogram on the bottle is executed upside down on the body. The monogram, however, will appear right side up when the user of the bottle raises it to his lips. A silver bottle encrusted with gold and enamel in my collection has two lines from the Psalms in Armenian engraved upside down on its neck with the same intention.

The monograms no doubt belong to the owners Nazaret and Sarfraz. These are the names of a father and son who were famous Armenian merchant princes of New Julfa. Nazaret, the father, is better known as Khodja Nazar and died in 1636. His eldest son, Sarfraz, is well known as Sarfraz Bec as well as Khodja Sarfraz and died in 1656. They possessed great prestige at the Ṣafavid court of Shāh ‘Abbās the Great and his successor, Shāh Ṣafi. They were known to possess fabulous wealth and the quality of their entertainment was royal, a fact to which a number of well-known European travellers who visited New Julfa testify. Sir Thomas Herbert thus describes his visit to Khodja Nazar's home in 1628:<sup>2</sup> "Hodge-nazar, the Armenian Prince, was visited by the Ambassador at his house in Jelphey. A Christian he professes himself, but (I must be bold to say) his house was furnished with such beastly pictures, such ugly postures as indeed are not fit to be remembered. Amongst other rare meats, I took most notice of roasted pig, in regard that it was the first we saw in Persia, and is meat equally offensive to Jews and Mahometans. The flagons and bowls in his house were all of gold, vials of sweet water for perfume, and glasses of Shiraz wine were emptied for our better entertainment."

Another traveller—Dutch, this time—was more sophisticated than the puritanical English Sir Thomas Herbert and was not offended by the delightful frescoes of females in Persian style at the home of the Armenian princes. The well-known Adam Olearius describes at length a feast at Khodja Sarfraz's home:<sup>3</sup> "Serferas-bec, having received the Ambassadors with much respect, and done his civilities to the Chiefest of the Retinue, conducted them through a spacious arched Gallery, into a great Garden, at the end whereof we found an open Hall, according to the fashion of the Country, where we were entreated to sit down on the ground. The Cloth, which was of Gold and Silver Brocado, was covered with all sorts of Fruits and Conserves, and we drank of certain prepared Water, much like Ros Solis, but incomparably more delicate, and more precious. Having taken away the Fruits, they laid an Indian Cotton cloth, and the Meat was brought up, in silver Dishes. . . . We had hardly eaten so much as allayed our first hunger, ere we were forced to rise from the Table, to be conducted through a very noble apartment, into another Hall, which looked into the Garden. It was arched all about, and there were on the walls certain Pictures representing the Women of most Nations in the World, dressed according to the mode of their several Countries. The floor was covered with rich tapestry, on which were laid Cushions of flowered Satin, the

<sup>2</sup> *Travels in Persia, 1627–1629*, abridged and edited by Sir William Foster, London, 1928, 122.

<sup>3</sup> *The voyages and travells of the ambassadors . . . written originally by Adam Olearius . . . Faithfully rendered into English by John Davies*, London, 1662, 276.

ground-work thereof Gold and Silver." Then, the brother of Khodja Sarfraz, Elias-Bec, "to heighten the Divertisement of the Ambassadors, . . . would needs play on the Tamar, which is an Instrument used by the Persians instead of the Lute, and then he called for seven Porcelane cups, full of water, and striking them with two little sticks he accorded them with the lute."

Of course, only the very wealthy in New Julfa, like Khodja Nazar and his son, Khodja Sarfraz, could afford to possess sets of blue and white ware such as are represented by the pieces described above from the ceramic collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Similar blue and white wares had been made in Persia since the fifteenth century, and continued to be made in Kirmān from the sixteenth century and in Meshhed from the seventeenth century.

In conclusion, we can state that the blue and white plate with the Armenian monogram reading "Nazaret" in the Victoria and Albert Museum, must have been made before 1636 when Khodja Nazar, the owner, died, and those with the monogram reading "Sarfraz" must have been made before 1656 when Khodja Sarfraz or Sarfraz Bec died.